

Monsters, News, and Knowledge Transfer in Early Modern England

DISSERTATION

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By

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Abstract

How do you know what you know? This dissertation examines the process of *knowledge transfer* (the interaction of multiple individuals in the process of exchanging and acting upon information which is deemed significant) through a focus on the phenomenon of *monstrous births* (a contemporary and non-derogatory term used to describe physically deformed humans and animals) in early modern England. In a sense, this study utilizes monsters as the contrast dye in a knowledge-transfer myelogram: monstrous births can highlight the path which knowledge takes between producer and consumer, as well as how the consumer subsequently acts upon that knowledge. A broad variety of media were utilized to this end – including printed, visual, material, oral, and manuscript sources – revealing that the nature of each medium affected the kinds of knowledge exchanged, as well as the process by which the exchange took place. Thus cheap print might privilege news of the prodigious, while gossip focused on the actions of local individuals, and manuscript culture compiled and commented upon specific cases of monstrosity. I argue that balladeers, artists, neighbors, natural philosophers, diarists, and others transferred and consumed knowledge about monsters throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries because they provided news- and gossip-worthy entertainment that could also, under the proper circumstances, reveal the will of God or the internal workings of Nature. Of course, monsters were not at all times all of these things to all people; the precise significance of monstrosity changed depending upon the

media in which it was disseminated. However, I have located over 700 descriptions of perhaps 500 individual monstrous births, prodigies, and unusual creatures between 1531 and *c.* 1800 in a wide variety of media: more than 150 extant pieces of cheap print, 78 advertisements for monster shows, nearly a dozen painted portraits, numerous etchings, a court case and its three attendant ceramic plates, 88 articles published in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London, two diaries, and a manuscript monster compendium. The remarkable scale and variety of this interest vindicates the use of monstrosity to the study of knowledge transfer in sixteenth- through eighteenth-century England.

To Schuster and the kitties. I wouldn't have gotten through this without you.

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Fields of Study

Major Field: History

Conventions and Abbreviations

The calendar year for all dates is considered to begin on 1 January, rather than Lady Day. Spelling and punctuation have not been modernized, except that abbreviations have been silently expanded. Names have been standardized where possible. In the pre-decimal system of 12 pence (*d.*) to a shilling (*s.*) and 20 shillings to a pound (£), 4 farthings were worth a penny, 4*d.* were worth a groat, and 5*s.* were worth a crown.

The following abbreviations are used in references:

BL	British Library, London
ECCO	Eighteenth Century Collections Online
EEBO	Early English Books Online
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
RS	Royal Society Library, London
SPO	State Papers Online
TNA	The National Archives, Kew (UK)

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Introduction

How do you know what you know? In an era of essentially instantaneous communication via cell phones, the Internet, and the 24-hour news cycle, we often take knowledge for granted. Who won the basketball game last night? How long should I cook my pot roast? What cases is the Supreme Court hearing this week? With an Internet-capable device, these answers are available in seconds, and our brains are stuffed chock-full of new knowledge. Though it was transferred through different sorts of technologies and was significantly slower to dissipate, knowledge in the early modern period also spread in an instantly recognizable manner. Rather than checking CNN.com for news, a seventeenth-century English shopkeeper could pick up a broadsheet or a newspaper. Instead of texting her friends, a village mother could share gossip in any European street. In addition, late seventeenth- to eighteenth-century *literati* and modern academics would have had much in common, as both conducted scholarly discussions via articles in printed journals. Searching for a YouTube video of a two-headed kitten is not intrinsically different from walking to a local pub to see one for yourself. The technologies behind knowledge transfer have changed drastically since the early modern period, but the underlying compulsion to share information with others, whether locally or globally, is an inherent human trait. People are incorrigible gossips; we are experts at taking advantage of every medium at our disposal in order to be “in the know”.

The invention and proliferation of moveable-type printing after the mid-fifteenth century drastically decreased the time involved in reproducing knowledge and simultaneously increased the potential audience for a given message. By 1700, authors could choose their medium – broadside ballad, printed sermon, small- or large-format book, letter to a scholarly journal editor – based upon the audience they wished to reach, and the shorter the work, the faster it could be written, typeset, printed, and distributed for sale throughout London and the kingdom. Naturally, this proliferation of print did not entirely supplant earlier forms of knowledge spread; letter-writing for pleasure, manuscript distribution of politically sensitive news, and face-to-face interactions continued as before. The new media simply supplemented them.

Knowledge transfer describes the interaction of multiple individuals in the process of exchanging and acting upon information which is deemed significant: for example, because it provided evidence of God's will or the workings of Nature. This active process of *transferring* knowledge is distinct from the more passive *spread* of knowledge, whereby information is disseminated but not acted upon by its consumers. In the early modern period a broad variety of media were utilized to *transfer* knowledge – including printed, visual, material, oral, and manuscript sources – and the nature of each medium affected the kinds of knowledge transferred, as well as the process by which the transfer took place. Thus cheap print might privilege news of the prodigious, while gossip focused on the actions of local individuals, and manuscript culture compiled and commented upon specific cases of monstrosity.

This dissertation approaches knowledge transfer by isolating a single topic: why and how knowledge about *monsters* – a contemporary and non-derogatory term used to describe physically deformed humans and animals, discussed at length below – was transferred between men and women in early modern England. In a sense, this dissertation utilizes monsters as the contrast dye in a knowledge-transfer myelogram: monstrous births can highlight the path which knowledge takes between producer and consumer, as well as how the consumer subsequently acts upon that knowledge. I argue that balladeers, artists, neighbors, natural philosophers, diarists, and others transferred and consumed knowledge about monsters throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries because they provided news- and gossip-worthy information that could also, under the proper circumstances, reveal the will of God or the internal workings of Nature. Of course, monsters were not at all times all of these things to all people; the precise significance of monstrosity changed depending upon the media in which it was disseminated. However, I have located over 700 descriptions of perhaps 500 individual monstrous births, prodigies, and unusual creatures between 1531 and c. 1800 in a wide variety of media: more than 150 extant pieces of cheap print, 78 advertisements for monster shows, nearly a dozen painted portraits, numerous etchings, a court case and its three attendant ceramic plates, 88 articles published in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London, two diaries, and a manuscript monster compendium. The remarkable scale and variety of this interest vindicates the use of monstrosity to the study of knowledge transfer in sixteenth- through eighteenth-century England.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* cites the English word *monster* as having developed out of the twelfth-century French *mostre* or Latin *monstrum* (a portent, prodigy, or monstrous creature) and the Latin *monere* (to warn).¹ According to the physician Ambroise Paré, whose *Oeuvres* first appeared in French in 1575 and were translated into English in 1634, monsters were “what things soever are brought forth contrary to the common decree and order of nature. So wee terme that infant monstrous, which is borne with one arme alone, or with two heads”.² In *A Directory for Midwives*, first published in 1651, the English physician Nicholas Culpeper simply defined a monster as “that which is either wholly or in part like a beast, or that which is ill shaped extraordinary”.³ The anonymous *Aristotle’s Compleat Master Piece*, first published in 1702, asserted that monsters could be “vicious in Figure, when a Man bears the Character of a Beast ... vicious in Magnitude, when the Parts are not equal, ... vicious in Situation many Ways; as if the Ears were on the Face ... And lastly, ... vicious in Number, when a Man hath two Heads, or four Hands”.⁴ Samuel Johnson’s definitive *Dictionary of the English Language*, first published in 1756, defined *monster* as either “Something out of

¹ “monster,” Oxford English Dictionary, accessed 12 July 2012.

http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00315137?query_type=word&queryword=monster&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&result_place=1&search_id=0h5w-Rein3E-17988&hilite=00315137.

² Ambroise Paré and Th. Johnson, *The Works of that Famous Chirurgion* (London: 1634), 961.

³ Nicholas Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives, or, A Guide for Women* (London: 1651. Reprinted London: 1700), 152.

⁴ Anonymous, *Aristotle’s Compleat Master Piece. In Three Parts; Displaying the Secrets of Nature in the Generation of Man* (23rd ed., London: 1749). Facsimile reprint edited by Randolph Trumbach (Marriage, Sex, and the Family in England 1660-1800, New York and London: Taylor & Francis, 1986), 88-9.

the common order of nature” or “Something horrible for deformity, wickedness, or mischief”, compiling all of the earlier explanations into a pair of concise definitions.⁵

For the sake of linguistic variety, *monster* and *monstrous birth* appear interchangeably throughout this dissertation to refer to both humans and animals with unusual anatomies, physical deformities, and congenital defects. I choose not to utilize the more politically-correct *disability*, as this term did not come into standard usage until the second half of the twentieth century and instead use the contemporary terms *monster* and *monstrous birth*.⁶ Evidence of monstrous births appears in a wide variety of media: ballads, broadsides, leaflets, etchings, pamphlets, newspapers, chronicle books, *Philosophical Transactions* articles, diaries, commonplace books, court cases, recorded gossip, painted portraits, and even decorative ceramic plates. Not all of these media spread news; chronicle books, indeed, can be said to compile *olds*, while diaries and commonplace books demonstrate reactions to the news. However, examining this source base as a whole indicates the extent to which knowledge about newsworthy monstrous births permeated early modern English society.

Scholars of early modern knowledge transfer have generally approached the subject through very different topics, notably political news and scientific knowledge. In terms of news, C. John Sommerville identifies the origins of English periodical reporting in the 1620s and traces the development of a “news culture” throughout the following

⁵ Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language...*, 2 vols. (London: 1756), vol. 2: “monkery”-“monument”.

⁶ “disabled”, Oxford English Dictionary, accessed 13 March 2013, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.ohio-state.edu/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/53385>.

century, in a process which “created a new kind of society, the informed public”.⁷ Joad Raymond elaborates on this idea by dating the public sphere – that “semi-autonomous realm where private persons come together as a public in order to exchange opinions” – not to 1695 as Jürgen Habermas would have it but rather to the 1640s, “building on an expansion of political communication dating from the early 1620s”.⁸ Examining moralistic news pamphlets, Sandra Clark has likewise found that news writing “for its own sake” had become a recognized genre by the early 1620s, at which point truly “factual” news was coming to be valued and pamphlet titles came to utilize the words *report*, *news*, and *true* in addition to the more sensationalistic *rare*, *dreadful*, and *unnatural*. However, Clark finds that there remained “a strong attempt to win interest by presenting the story in as sensational a manner as possible, and by stressing its unique and newsworthy qualities”,⁹ a literary technique that certainly appears in publications about monsters. Barbara Shapiro is particularly concerned with identifying the factual elements that made up the news genre, including an emphasis on credible witnesses, particulars, truth telling, impartiality, a rejection of fiction, and a distinction between relating facts and editorializing thereupon. Significantly, Shapiro asserts that “the history

⁷ C. John Sommerville, *The News Revolution in England: Cultural Dynamics of Daily Information* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 15.

⁸ Joad Raymond, “Introduction: Networks, Communication, Practice,” in *News Networks in Seventeenth-Century Britain and Europe*, edited by Joad Raymond (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 1-17, quotation 6. Joad Raymond, “The Newspaper, Public Opinion, and the Public Sphere in the Seventeenth Century”, in *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain*, edited by Joad Raymond (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1999), 109-40, quotation 128.

⁹ Sandra Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers: Popular Moralistic Pamphlets, 1580-1640* (Rutherford, Madison, and Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1983), 86, 90, 101.

of ‘news’ and ‘facts’ cannot be separated from the ‘wonders’ and ‘marvels’ of the age”,¹⁰ situating monsters solidly within the news genre.

The classification of monstrous births as newsworthy is nothing new to historians. In his study of early newspapers, M. A. Shaaber calls the interest in monsters “one of the most curious fancies of the sixteenth-century taste for the marvelous”; Barbara Shapiro asserts that news of monstrous births was of interest to both the general public and the *literati* long past the Restoration; and A. W. Bates, Elisabetta Cecconi, Norman Smith, and Merry Wiesner-Hanks all mention abnormal births as a category of early modern news.¹¹ However, no examinations of early modern news, newspapers, newsletters, or periodicals have devoted more than a few pages to the monstrous genre, nor do any secondary authors provide satisfactory statistics for how much of printed news might have been concerned with monsters.

Several works – by Aaron W. Kitch, Malcolm Jones, Stephen Pender, and Paul Semonin – address monsters in English print and consumer culture. Kitch asserts that “broadside ballads about monstrous births appeared in England during the 1560s and quickly achieved popularity, based on the number of copies that survive relative to other

¹⁰ Barbara J. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact: England, 1550-1720* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2000), 86, 87.

¹¹ M. A. Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England, 1476-1622* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1929. Reprinted New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 151. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact*, 101. A[lan] W. Bates, *Emblematic Monsters: Unnatural Conceptions and Deformed Births in Early Modern Europe* (The Wellcome Series in the History of Medicine, Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2005), 1. Elisabetta Cecconi, “Comparing Seventeenth-Century News Broadside and Occasional News Pamphlets: Interrelatedness in News Reporting”, in *Early Modern English News Discourse: Newspapers, Pamphlets, and Scientific News Discourse*, edited by Andreas H. Jucker (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co., 2009), 137-57; citation 138. Norman R[obert] Smith, “Portentous Births and the Monstrous Imagination in Renaissance Culture”, in *Marvels, Monsters, and Miracles: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Imaginations*, edited by Timothy S. Jones and David A. Sprunger (Studies in Medieval Culture XLII, Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002), 267-83; citation 281. Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *The Marvelous Hairy Girls: The Gonzales Sisters and their Worlds* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 14.

types of ballad from the same period”. Interestingly, he further claims that the authors and printers of the first monstrous birth broadsides were important members of the Stationers’ company and that therefore, “their choice of subject matter ... was dictated as often as possible by the tastes of their consumers, most of whom were probably in London”.¹² Jones dedicates a chapter of his tome on early modern English prints to images of portents, prodigies, and abnormal births. He argues “that the primary function of the majority of prints was decorative, that is, that interest in them was first and foremost *as pictures*”. In the case of the monstrous birth ballads examined by Kitch, this implies that “ballad sheets were valued as much for their pictures as their texts”.¹³ Pender and Semonin have independently researched the exhibition of monsters in England. Pender sees human exhibition as fostering the early modern “faith in the somatic exterior as a reliable index to the soul”; physical monstrosity was “a *sign*, not a *cause*; it requires interpretation”.¹⁴ Whereas Pender roots the fascination with exhibition in early modern ephemeral literature, Semonin rather emphasizes the “ancient comic tradition” of Greco-Roman mythology and medieval English fairs, pointing out that sixteenth- through eighteenth-century monster shows grew out of a long Western trajectory of fascination with the monstrous.¹⁵

¹² Aaron W. Kitch, “Printing Bastards: Monstrous Birth Broad­sides in Early Modern England,” in *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England*, edited by Douglas A. Brooks (Aldershot, Hampshire and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 221, 231.

¹³ Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England, An Historical Oversight* (Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 5, 6.

¹⁴ Stephen Pender, “In the Bodyshop: Human Exhibition in Early Modern England,” in “*Defects*”: *Engendering the Modern Body*, edited by Helen Deutsch and Felicity Nussbaum (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 95-126; citations 97, 116.

¹⁵ Paul Semonin, “Monsters in the Marketplace: The Exhibition of Human Oddities in Early Modern England,” in *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, edited by Rosemarie Garland Thomson (New York and London: New York University Press, 1996), 69-81; citation 80.

Oral communication of news, gossip, and local events played an important role in the development of public opinion and reputation throughout the early modern period. Steve Hindle sees gossip as “a formative stage in the development of ‘public opinion’ over a whole range of issues, local and national, private and public, personal and political”. Gossip can encompass both “the simple private communication of information ... [and] the more complex dissemination of judgemental opinion”, particularly within the context of the court case which comprises Hindle’s study.¹⁶ Malcolm Gaskill has examined local opinion in terms of how court witnesses “selected, ordered and shaped” their testimonies “in order to assert a *moral* truth”, as opposed to our modern, strict definition of truth as an accurate conformation with fact.¹⁷ In this way, Gaskill has applied Natalie Zemon Davis’s famous examination of *fiction* within court cases – which she argues rests squarely upon the process of story-crafting, in which pardon-seekers “shape[d] the events of a crime into a story” – to English depositions, an approach which appears in Chapter 3 below.¹⁸

Palmira Fontes da Costa has extensively studied the role of uncommon experiences in *The Singular and the Making of Knowledge at the Royal Society of London in the Eighteenth Century*. Covering curiosities, extraordinary facts, and monstrous births, da Costa seeks to correct the “misinterpretations of the place of extraordinary phenomena at the Royal Society” that she sees in modern historiography,

¹⁶ Steve Hindle, “The Shaming of Margaret Knowsley: Gossip, Gender and the Experience of Authority in Early Modern England,” *Continuity and Change* 9, no. 3 (1994), 391-419; quotation 393.

¹⁷ Malcolm Gaskill, “Reporting Murder: Fiction in the Archives in Early Modern England,” *Social History* 23, no. 1 (January 1998), 1-30; quotation 23, italics mine. “truth,” Oxford English Dictionary, accessed 22 June 2013, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.ohio-state.edu/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/207026>.

¹⁸ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 2.

particularly in terms of an ahistorical – and modern – definition of the term *science* as referring preferentially to experimental and mathematical knowledge, while ignoring or deprecating the study of natural and artificial curiosities. She explicitly addresses monstrous births and their place as either singularities or pathologies of nature in her final chapter, in which she concludes that this dichotomy split the “singular” monsters of “a culture of entertainment associated with the unlearned and ‘the vulgar’ ” from the identification of monstrous appearances as “pathological conditions of the body”, some of which “could be eliminated through successful surgical treatments”.¹⁹

Studies of the spread of scientific knowledge have generally focused on the letter-writing networks and publications of the Royal Society in the late seventeenth through eighteenth centuries. James Secord identifies knowledge circulation as “the central question” for historians of science: “How and why does knowledge circulate? How does it cease to be the exclusive property of a single individual or group and become part of the taken-for-granted understanding of much wider groups of people?”²⁰ Ellen Valle and Maurizio Gotti address these questions specifically in relation to the *Philosophical Transactions* and its contributors. Valle is particularly interested in Henry Oldenburg’s role as editor from 1665 to 1669. She points out that “what is happening here is the emergence of an entirely new kind of textual practice as a *public* discourse, out of the quasi-private correspondence networks mediated by Oldenburg and others”.²¹ Gotti

¹⁹ Palmira Fontes da Costa, *The Singular and the Making of Knowledge at the Royal Society of London in the Eighteenth Century* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), 3, 4, 144.

²⁰ James A. Secord, “Knowledge in Transit,” *Isis* 95, no. 4 (December 2004), 654-72; quotation 655.

²¹ Ellen Valle, “Reporting the Doings of the Curious: Authors and Editors in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London,” in *News Discourse in Early Modern Britain: Selected*

likewise focuses on the rise of the scientific journal out of “the genre of communal correspondence which had already served as a means of dissemination of specialized news” that “promot[ed] new professional relationships and ... strengthen[ed] existing links, thus favouring the formation of a new scientific community”.²² As Valle points out, the *Philosophical Transactions* thus served “a large audience, including specialists (e.g. astronomers, mathematicians or anatomists), scientific non-specialists, and an outer circle drawn from the general educated public (which accounted for a sizeable proportion of the membership of the Royal Society)”. The publication “took up the role of a scientific clearing-house, providing a focal point for what can with reason be called a scientific network”.²³

Diaries and commonplace books – those personal manuscript compendia of daily occurrences, observations, and extracts deemed important by the writer – demonstrate the end-point of knowledge transfer. As William Matthews asserts, “The urge to be a chronicler of the times is probably the commonest reason for writing diaries”, an impetus which was just as true for Samuel Pepys, in the Introduction to whose *Diary* this comment was written, as it was for the commonplace collector James Paris du Plessis. “Diaries”, says Robert Latham, “register the impression of events at the moment of their impact” and preserve “a dream or a mood, an impulse, a half-suppressed thought,

Papers of CHINED 2004, edited by Nicholas Brownlees (Linguistic Insights, 30, Bern and Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006), 71-90; citation 78.

²² Maurizio Gotti, “Disseminating Early Modern Science: Specialized News Discourse in the *Philosophical Transactions*,” in *News Discourse in Early Modern Britain: Selected Papers of CHINED 2004*, edited by Nicholas Brownlees (Linguistic Insights, 30, Bern and Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006), 41-70; 64. Maurizio Gotti, “Communal Correspondence in Early Modern English: The *Philosophical Transactions* Network,” in *Business and Official Correspondence: Historical Investigations*, edited by Marina Dossena and Susan M. Fitzmaurice (Linguistic Insights, 32, Bern and Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006), 7-46; citation 33.

²³ Valle, “Reporting the Doings of the Curious,” 74.

intonations of voices, the gestures and the silences that sometimes do service for speech”.²⁴ Similarly, Victoria Burke asserts that the commonplace book genre can shed light on beliefs about memory itself, as “practices of remembering were tied inextricably to the didactic purpose of keeping a commonplace book”.²⁵ In discussing commonplace books, though this could indeed be applied equally to early modern diaries, Earle Havens points out that they were “normally kept for private use according to the particular purposes, tastes, and idiosyncrasies of their compilers” and that therefore they “survive in every conceivable shape, size, and degree of organization”.²⁶ The dual tendencies to collect the present and compile the past interact with all of the above modes of knowledge transfer in order to demonstrate, in Chapter 5 below, the extent to which monsters permeated everyday life in early modern London.

A few scholars have conducted in-depth studies of monsters and monstrosity in early modern Europe, with a broad range of foci: religion and wonder, print and consumerism, reformation and revolution, and natural philosophy and science, as well as considerable overlap between the categories within individual works. In *Signs and Portents: Monstrous Births from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment*, Dudley Wilson addresses “the appearance and disappearance of four basic attitudes” in a chronological format: the belief that God sent monsters as a warning against sin, the late sixteenth- and

²⁴ Robert Latham and William Matthews, “Introduction,” in *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), vol. 1: xvii-cxxxvii; citation cvii.

²⁵ Victoria E. Burke, “Memorial Books: Commonplaces, Gender, and Manuscript Compilation in Seventeenth-Century England,” in *Ars Reminiscendi: Mind and Memory in Renaissance Culture*, edited by Donald Beecher and Grant Williams (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009), 121-43; citation 123.

²⁶ Earle Havens, “‘Of Common Places, or Memorial Books’: An Anonymous Manuscript on Commonplace Books and the Art of Memory in Seventeenth-Century England,” *Yale University Library Gazette* (April 2002), 136-53; quotation 142.

early seventeenth-century interest in monsters as strange knowledge to be collected, the increasingly detailed eighteenth-century observations and recordings of both normal and abnormal physiology, and the nineteenth-century medical and biological classificatory scientific attitude.²⁷ The approach of Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park in *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* is largely similar, beginning with late medieval marvels and ending with the anti-marvelous Enlightenment. However, they attempt to problematize Wilson's straightforward, teleological narrative of scientific progress by pointing out that the emotional trio of horror (monsters as prodigies), pleasure (monsters as sport), and repugnance (monsters as errors) "overlapped and coexisted during much of the early modern period", concluding that "the march toward the naturalization of marvels was an illusion, created by a new unanimity among intellectuals in the late seventeenth century".²⁸

Julie Crawford and David Cressy have each examined how monsters were deployed as religio-political icons in England between Reformation and Revolution. Crawford agrees with Kitch that the popularity of Protestant tracts about monsters provides historians with a "testament to their cultural significance", though Crawford emphasizes that "many of the writers and publishers of monster pamphlets were Protestant ministers or proselytizers, and they clearly saw the production and circulation of such marvelous stories as in keeping with their reforming mission". In this way, Crawford sees printing about monstrous births as "press[ing] providentialism into the

²⁷ Dudley Wilson, *Signs and Portents: Monstrous Births from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 1. Stephen T. Asma also emphasizes the chronological development of beliefs about monsters in *On Monsters: An Unnatural History of Our Worst Fears* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

²⁸ Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 176.

service of claims to religious authority”. Monsters continued to be utilized as religio-political signs through the Restoration, though by that point, Crawford sees the rise of an alternate, scientific explanation for monstrous births as natural rarities which does not wholly replace but rather supplements the prodigious readings that had been popularized over a century earlier.²⁹ In addition to a general examination of monsters as religious signs – similar to those pursued by Kitch and Crawford – Cressy has examined how “monstrosity pointed to social pathology and religious failing, a disturbance of the natural order” during the English Civil War and the Commonwealth, through an in-depth examination of two headless monsters whose deformity critiqued “a commonwealth that had lost its way and lost its mind”.³⁰

A.W. Bates and Jennifer Spinks have each focused specifically on religious readings of monstrous births during the early modern period, with a European focus. In *Emblematic Monsters: Unnatural Conceptions and Deformed Births in Early Modern Europe*, Bates places monstrous births firmly in the emblem tradition, whereby the monster would convey “religious or moral arguments” to the reader. Monsters were “signs of events with which they coincided in time (a famine or battle, for example)” and simultaneously “symbols (‘outward and visible signs’ like the Eucharist and other sacraments) of the invisible workings of the Creator, examples of providence that served

²⁹ Julie Crawford, *Marvelous Protestantism: Monstrous Births in Post-Reformation England* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 4, 22, 181-5.

³⁰ David Cressy, “Lamentable, Strange, and Wonderful: Headless Monsters in the English Revolution,” in *Monstrous Bodies/Political Monstrosities in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Laura Lunger Knoppers and Joan B. Landes (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 40-63, 256-61; quotations 47, 63. See also Chapter 2, “Monstrous Births and Credible Reports: Portents, Texts, and Testimonies”, in David Cressy, *Agnes Bowker’s Cat: Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2000).

to demonstrate divine authority”.³¹ Bates further claims that though “birth defects were reported primarily because of their reputation as portents ... the writers of ballads also recognized a general interest in accurate accounts and illustrations of these unusual conditions”, attributing an intrinsic allure to monsters’ unusual nature.³² Spinks ties religion and printing together in *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Germany* and particularly examines how “widely circulated representations of monstrous births ... developed in the context of the extraordinary religious and social changes that unfolded in German lands during the Reformation and its aftermath”. Like Daston and Park, Spinks “argues for a growing, not decreasing, religious emphasis in understanding monstrous births during the sixteenth century”, though her study has a much shorter chronological span, and she does not speculate as to whether German print about monsters changed in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.³³ However, unlike Daston and Park, Spinks privileges depth over breadth: each of her chapters comprises a microhistory of a single work or genre, such as Luther and Melanchthon’s monk calf and popish ass and the wonder books written by Lycosthenes and other authors. In this way, she traces how both Protestant print and Catholic, anti-Lutheran propaganda utilized monsters in pursuit of religious supremacy.

³¹ Bates, *Emblematic Monsters*, 27-8.

³² A. W. Bates, “Birth Defects Described in Elizabethan Ballads,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 93 (April 2000), 202-7; quotation 207. Bates has additionally published three articles focusing on retrospective diagnosis of early modern congenital defects. “Conjoined Twins in the 16th Century,” *Twin Research: The Official Journal of the International Society for Twin Studies* 5, no. 6 (December 2002), 521-8. “Autopsy on a Case of Roberts Syndrome Reported in 1672: The Earliest Description?” *American Journal of Medical Genetics, Part A* 117A, no. 1 (February 2003), 92-6. “Good, Common, Regular, and Orderly: Early Modern Classifications of Monstrous Births,” *Social History of Medicine* 18, no. 2 (August 2005), 141-58.

³³ Jennifer Spinks, *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2009), 3-4.

Beyond these larger narratives of monstrosity, Nick Page and Merry Wiesner-Hanks have each conducted social micro-histories on specific cases of human display, with Page examining the life of Queen Henrietta Maria's court dwarf Sir Jeffrey Hudson and Wiesner-Hanks tracing the hirsute Gonzales family through various European courts. Though less comprehensive in their conclusions, such studies provide us with a glimpse into the lives of individuals classified by society as monstrous, and as such, the micro-historical approach, which is utilized in Chapter 3 below, can provide us with a personal perspective sometimes lacking in more comprehensive studies.³⁴

* * *

Experts on monstrous births have posited a number of different and quite varied factors that could give rise to unusual physical features, each of which was championed by different early modern authorities. According to the classical philosopher Aristotle, monstrous births resulted from a corrupted mixture of the semen, loosely defined as the substance from which an embryo is formed and which was provided by the father and mother toward the conception of a child. If "more material gathers than is required by the nature of that part", this would cause the development of superfluous limbs or even conjoined twinning; similarly, too little matter could explain missing or incompletely formed body parts.³⁵ Midwives' manuals and other similar advice books often repeated this theory of too much matter, even if they simultaneously espoused belief in other

³⁴ Nick Page, *Lord Minimus: The Extraordinary Life of Britain's Smallest Man* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002). Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *The Marvelous Hairy Girls: The Gonzales Sisters and their Worlds* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).

³⁵ Aristotle, *Generation of Animals*, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*, 2 vols., edited by Jonathan Barnes (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), vol. 1: 1111-1218; citations 1144, 1195.

explanations. The “best-selling guide to pregnancy and childbirth in the eighteenth century”, the anonymous *Aristoteles Masterpiece* which was first published in 1684 and which Mary Fissell aptly identifies as “neither a masterpiece nor by Aristotle”, provided this exhaustive list of causes for monstrous births:

Now a monstrous habit or shape of Body is contracted divers ways, as from Fear, sudden Frights, extraordinary Passion, the influence of the Stars, too much or too little Seed, the Mothers strange Imaginations and divers phantasms which the mind conceive deform the body, and render the Children of an improper shape, and many times not perfect in either Sex: sometimes the whole course of Nature is changed, either when the Seeds are vitated or the Instruments of Generation unfit, so that the natural Faculties, to propagate and form the Child, cannot perform their Office exactly: for as the most ingenious Artist can bring nothing to perfection if his Materials be bad or out of order, so Nature wanting the force of her Faculties, or not having fit matter, must of necessity proceed preposterously in forming the Child. ... So if the Womb or the Matter be unfit or ill tempered, ‘tis impossible, without an extraordinary over-ruling Providence; but above all, unseasonable Copulation, or intemperate Venery, is the cause of so many monstrous shapes.³⁶

Given the wide variety of apparent causes of monstrous births, perhaps we should be surprised that there were not more of them.

One of the causes mentioned by *Aristoteles Masterpiece*, maternal impression, is the idea that the experiences of the pregnant mother could imprint themselves on the unborn infant. According to the physicians Jakob Rueff, whose *Expert Midwife* first appeared in English in 1637 and set the standard for midwifery tracts for over a century, and Nicholas Culpeper, a great believer in democratizing medical knowledge through publication of works in English who likely based his opinions on maternal impression on

³⁶ Mary E. Fissell, “Hairy Women and Naked Truths: Gender and the Politics of Knowledge in ‘Aristotle’s Masterpiece’,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 60, no. 1, Third Series, Sexuality in Early America (January 2003), 43-74; citation 43. Anonymous, *Aristoteles Master-Piece, or the Secrets of Generation Displayed* ... (London: 1684), 48.

Rueff, such experiences could take the form of fright or longings, as when “the Mother in the time of her Conception being affrighted either with sudden starting of an Hare or Coney, or by losing her Longing to eat a piece of such a Creature” gave birth to a child with a harelip. The medical explanation behind such an occurrence was that the “sudden terrour [would] troubl[e] and mov[e] the conceived seed”, causing the fetus to rearrange itself to conform with the image present in its mother’s mind. Similar “longing & terrors” could likewise cause “spots” or birthmarks, and as a preventative measure against even more extreme deformity, Culpeper recommended that “though Doctors cannot cure Monsters, yet they are to admonish Women with Child not to look upon Monsters”, as the same effect was likely to result.³⁷ Unpleasant physical sensations could also cause abnormal births, as when two women from the village of “*Bristante*”, close to Worms in Germany, were “talking together, the one of them being great with childe, there came a thirde woman ... and sodainly thrust their heads togethers as they talked, wherewith she with childe was astonished”, causing her previously-separate twin fetuses to spontaneously attach to each other. The resulting conjoinment was such that “their noses touching so nigh, ... they could not turne their eyes but one way, their forheades ioyning together, hanged ouer their eyes”, exactly where their mother had had her head bumped during pregnancy.³⁸ The sixteenth-century residents of the Duchy of Bavaria

³⁷ Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives*, 104, 276. Jakob Rueff, *The Expert Midwife, or an Excellent and Most Necessary Treatise of the Generation and Birth of Man ...* (London: 1637), 154-5. P.M. Dunn, “Jacob Rueff (1500-1558) of Zurich and *The Expert Midwife*”, *Archives of Disease in Childhood: Neonatal Edition* 85 (2001): F222-F224. Patrick Curry, “Nicholas Culpeper (1616–1654),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004-), accessed 6 July 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6882>.

³⁸ Pierre Boaistuau and E. Fenton, *Certaines Secrete Wonders of Nature...* (London: 1569), 15v. Konrad Lycosthenes and St[even] Batman, *The Doome Warning All Men to the Judgemente...* ([London]: 1581), 287-8.

were so worried about the risks posed by a two-headed woman who “wente from dore to dore searchyng hir liuyng” that she was chased out of the region, lest she “marre the frute of women with childe, for the apprehension which remayneth in the imagination of the figure of this monstrous Woman”.³⁹

One of the only causes *not* mentioned by *Aristoteles Masterpiece* is that of God’s will, though nearly every broadside, ballad, and pamphlet printed before 1650 – and half of those printed between 1651 and 1800 – credited God with the creation of monsters. Otherwise known as the peccatogenic worldview (a term coined by Michael Kempe from the Latin word *peccatum*, meaning “sin”) in which wonders and marvels were attributed to Divine displeasure, this belief system featured in cheap print throughout the early modern period, both in England and on the Continent.⁴⁰ Simon Schama has demonstrated that in the Netherlands, beached whales – another brand of “monster” – were interpreted providentially, “as a commentary on national fortunes or an augury of crises ahead”.⁴¹ Similarly, Jennifer Spinks points out that the proliferation of German monsters was seen by both Luther and Lycosthenes as a warning of the Last Days, and

³⁹ Boaiutuau, *Certaine Secrete Wonders of Nature*, 99v. Lycosthenes, *The Doome Warning*, 330.

⁴⁰ For a further discussion of peccatogenic beliefs, see Geoffrey Parker, *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), 8-14. Monica Juneja and Franz Mauelshagen, “Disasters and Pre-Industrial Societies: Historiographic Trends and Comparative Perspectives,” *The Medieval History Journal* 10, nos. 1-2 (2007), 1-31; citation 17-21. Juneja and Mauelshagen specifically credit Michael Kempe with coining the term “peccatogenic” in Dieter Groh, Michael Kempe, and Franz Mauelshagen, “Einleitung. Naturkatastrophen - Wahrgenommen, Gedeutet, Dargestellt,” in *Naturkatastrophen. Beiträge zu ihrer Deutung, Wahrnehmung und Darstellung in Text und Bild von der Antike bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, edited by Dieter Groh, Michael Kempe, and Franz Mauelshagen (Literatur und Anthropologie, vol. 13, Tübingen: Narr, 2003), 11-33.

⁴¹ Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 135.

Annie Bitbol-Hespériès asserts that across Europe, monsters were “understood as a divine ‘remonstrance’ ”, at least throughout the sixteenth century.⁴²

Within the English broadside literature, monsters were quite often presented as prodigies: “those things which happen contrary to the whole course of nature, that is, altogether differing and dissenting from nature: as, if a woman should be delivered of a Snake or a Dogge”, according to the barber-surgeon Ambroise Paré who served under four French kings (Henry II, Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III).⁴³ Such prodigious works were considered God’s warning to the people of England, that “if we will not be instructed by his worde nor warned by his wonderfull workes, then let vs be assured that these straunge monstrous sightes do foreshow vnto vs that his heauy indignation wyl shortly come vpon vs for our monstrous liuyng”.⁴⁴ This sentiment was repeated in such chronologically varied accounts as the birth of a pig with “a Dolphines head” in 1562 and of conjoined female twins “having two Heads, four Arms, and two Legs” from 1664.⁴⁵ Prayers such as “Giue vnto this woman thy handmaid, neither a monstrous, a maimed, or a dead birth ... let thy blessing be vpon it” clearly demonstrate God’s role in producing monsters.⁴⁶

⁴² Spinks, *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture*, 69, 97. Annie Bitbol-Hespériès, “Monsters, Nature and Generation in the Early Modern Period: The Emergence of Medical Thought,” in *The Problem of Animal Generation in Modern Philosophy*, edited by Justin E.H. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 47-62; citation 49.

⁴³ Paré, *The Workes of that Famous Chirurgion*, 961. “Ambroise Pare,” *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, accessed 6 July 2013, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/443426/Ambroise-Pare>.

⁴⁴ Anonymous, *The Description of a Monstrous Pig, the which was Farrowed at Hamsted Besyde London* ... (London: [1562]), single sheet.

⁴⁵ William Fulwood, *The Shape of .II. Mo[n]sters* ... (London: 1562), single sheet. Anonymous, *Natures Wonder?* ... ([London]: 12 November 1664), single sheet.

⁴⁶ Robert Hill, *The Pathvvay to Prayer, and Pietie* ... (4th ed., London: 1610), 413. See also David Cressy, *Agnes Bowker's Cat: Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 30.

Some ballads further presented monsters as emblems to be read, as in *The True Discription of a Childe with Ruffes*, which blamed the birth of a girl with “fleshy skin behinde like vnto a neckerchef growing from the veines of the back vp vnto the neck, as it were with many ruffes set one after another” on women’s fashion, “the ruffes that many do vse to weare about their necks”.⁴⁷ This monstrous birth did not merely warn against sin in general but rather expressed God’s displeasure over vanity in clothing. By far the most famous of such emblems were the first monsters to be analyzed as such: Martin Luther’s monk-calf and Philipp Melanchthon’s popish ass, famously illustrated by Lucas Cranach the Elder in 1523 and included in both Continental and British monster compendia for centuries (Figure 1). God had projected “a silhouette of the sins which had infested the body politic” onto these monstrous animals as a warning for good Christians everywhere to repent of their sins and live a godly life hereafter.⁴⁸ Jennifer Spinks asserts that the original German version of this pamphlet was “at the heart of a tangible shift in the representation and interpretation of monstrous births [in Germany], and one that fitted the aggressively polemical culture of the early Reformation”, moving beyond church walls and into the public sphere through printed iconographic emblems.⁴⁹

Early in the seventeenth century, Francis Bacon provided a final explanation for monsters in his *Novum Organum* and *Advancement of Learning* which set the tone for the natural philosophical discussions of monstrosity throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Bacon identified these “errors of nature, freaks and monsters,

⁴⁷ H. B., *The True Discription of a Childe with Ruffes* ... (London: 20 August 1566), single sheet.

⁴⁸ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 195.

⁴⁹ Spinks, *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture*, 72-3

where nature deflects and declines from its usual course” as “wonders of individuals”. Monsters were no longer works of God but errors of Nature, and indeed, Bacon argued that “narrations touching the prodigies and miracles of religions ... are either not true or not natural; and therefore impertinent for the story of nature”. When studied, these deviations from the “common and familiar” expression of a species would provide additional information about the species as a whole: “He who knows the ways of nature will also more easily recognize the deviations. And conversely he who recognizes the deviations will more accurately describe the ways”. Thus, Bacon suggested that “we must make a collection or particular natural history of all the monsters and prodigious products of nature”, an ideal which expressed itself on the pages of the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London.⁵⁰

* * *

This dissertation covers the period from the first English monstrous broadside, printed in 1531, to the very beginning of the nineteenth century. While mindful of Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park’s warning against a Whiggish narrative in which monstrous knowledge follows an arc from God’s prodigy to Nature’s wonder, it is nevertheless true that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cheap print privileged the peccatogenic worldview, while the *Philosophical Transactions* almost exclusively blamed Nature for creating physical deformities. In an attempt to avoid this teleological

⁵⁰ Francis Bacon, *The New Organon* (London: 1620), edited by Lisa Jardine and Michael Silverthorne (Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 148-9. Francis Bacon, *The Second Book of Francis Bacon of the Proficiency and Advancement of Learning Divine and Human* (London: 1605), in *The Works of Francis Bacon ...*, edited by James Spedding, 15 vols. (London: 1876), vol. 3: 330-2. Da Costa, *The Singular and the Making of Knowledge*, 6-7. See also Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 220-31.

pitfall, the chapter structure of this dissertation, while roughly chronological, privileges media (print, visual, oral, scientific, and manuscript) over chronology, with a focus on the processes through which various media transmitted their messages, rather than on the underlying causes of monstrosity. The chapter structure also tends from the general to the specific, with Chapters 1 through 3 largely examining media available to much of the early modern public, Chapter 4 focusing more closely upon the *literati*, and Chapter 5 narrowing in on only three individuals but simultaneously demonstrating that their personal experiences of monstrosity could have been shared, at least in part, by a sizeable segment of London's population.

Chapter 1, "Cheap Knowledge: from Conjoined Twins to Giant Squid", examines early printed sources on monstrous births. Consisting largely of cheap print and small format books which compiled and rehashed such accounts, this sort of information served to spread knowledge (in a rather passive manner, from author or publisher to audience) about newsworthy events which were sometimes also considered to provide evidence of God's will. A series of specially-prepared maps analyzes the births of conjoined twins geographically in order to identify trends relating to the level of detail provided by different print media. I then examine a number of individual accounts of monstrosity, both physically abnormal births and uncommon creatures, in order to illustrate both readership and the kinds of knowledge such readers would receive from cheap print about monsters.

Chapter 2, "Visible Knowledge: Coffeehouse Shows, Pig-Faced Ladies, and Courtly Portraiture", demonstrates that monsters could be viewed both in person and in

visual media as a form of entertainment. First, I examine the London venues – from summer fairs to coffeehouses to private homes – where monsters were put on view for a price. Constrained by the cost of entry or the geographic location of the show, the audience for personal interactions with monsters would have been more limited than the news-reading public. A more specialized form of printing, the full-page and occasionally full-color etching which became particularly popular in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was also available to consumers of any status who wanted to either collect monstrosities for themselves or simply to decorate the walls of their houses. Of much more limited access were the bodies of courtly monsters, often dwarfs, who were maintained and even represented in elaborate portraiture by their noble patrons, thus making the connection between monstrous body and monstrous representation explicit. The fact that monsters' bodies were so visible within society would have facilitated the consumption of knowledge about their anatomies.

The third chapter, "Local Knowledge: or, Who Owned Priscilla and Aquila Herring?", examines the remarkable history of conjoined twins in the village of Isle Brewers, Somerset in 1680. News of the twins' birth, public display, and death travelled as far as the Brislington potteries outside of Bristol and London's Courts of Chancery because the case was both gossip-worthy and a local scandal. This chapter devotes special attention to how local knowledge, otherwise known as gossip, about the children, their parents, and the local landholders spread throughout rural Somerset, and how the witnesses in turn proffered two disparate versions of the "truth" to the Chancery Court clerks sent to collect depositions in 1682. Thus the monstrous myelogram can here

illuminate the paths of conversations between individual witnesses which served to transfer knowledge about the particulars of the case.

Chapter 4, “Scientific Knowledge: London’s Royal Society”, examines how Francis Bacon’s call to study both perfect and imperfect individuals in order to better understand Nature’s designs for the species as a whole encouraged the Royal Society to examine monsters in its meetings, the Society’s secretaries to include them on the pages of the *Philosophical Transactions*, and enthusiastic natural philosophers from around England to send abnormal objects to the Society for inclusion in its museum-like Repository. Even before the inception of the *Philosophical Transactions* in 1665, and continuing throughout the eighteenth century, national and international men of letters sent accounts of monstrosity to the Royal Society, in an attempt to share their local knowledge about monsters with the wider scientific community. Perhaps more than in other media, the *Philosophical Transactions* were intended to disseminate *meritorious* knowledge: each successive Royal Society Secretary privileged some genres of scientific inquiry over others and thus chose different sorts of letters for inclusion in the journal.

The final chapter, “Collecting Knowledge: London Diarists and James Paris du Plessis”, examines two diaries and a manuscript commonplace book written by three contemporaries who knew each other to explore how individuals interacted with news of the monstrous, from simple recording of fact to extensive personal commentary. James Paris du Plessis compiled his two-volume manuscript collection of monstrous births and other oddities in the early eighteenth century based on unusual individuals he saw and read about. Though he is not the only Londoner to record having seen monsters on

display – others include the diarists Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn – Paris is the only one to have so extensively and compulsively recorded their existence based upon every available source. The comparison of Pepys’s and Evelyn’s diaristic techniques to Paris’s compilation practices can demonstrate disparate human interactions to the types of knowledge transfer discussed in the preceding four chapters. Moreover, this chapter serves to emphasize how the more seemingly-passive media (primarily cheap print, etchings, and other “authored” sources) could be actively consumed, compiled, and compared by individual audience members, making explicit the process by which knowledge was transferred (i.e. acted upon) in the early modern period.

The Conclusion compares my methodology with those of other historians of monstrosity and suggests that more monsters were mentioned in early modern printed sources than have been found by other scholars. This is largely a matter of scale: my bibliographic corpus contains over 300 printed titles which provided an impressive 700 descriptions of perhaps 500 individual cases of monstrosity. The advent of keyword-searchable digital archives has made the process of compiling such a corpus relatively easy, when compared to the traditional method of paging through collection catalogues.

“As historians,” James Secord says, “we are in a good position to combine careful readings of texts, images, and objects with the evidence, often fascinating and diverse, of actual readers”.⁵¹ Indeed, this is exactly the approach to monsters, news, and knowledge transfer utilized throughout this dissertation, tying together all of the above historiographies to analyze a discrete source type in each of the first four chapters –

⁵¹ James A. Secord, “Knowledge in Transit,” *Isis* 95, no. 4 (December 2004), 654-72; quotation 661-2.

respectively, cheap print, visual culture, gossip, and scientific publication – and assessing evidence of audience in Chapter 5. Monstrous births could be religiously-charged news, entertainment, a source of gossip, or a lens into the inner workings of Nature. Ultimately, people transmitted knowledge about monsters because of their curiosity: about God, the natural world, generation and reproduction, cause and effect. Tracing how people discussed monsters – the paths of knowledge transfer made visible in the myelogram – can provide us with a glimpse into the early modern worldview.

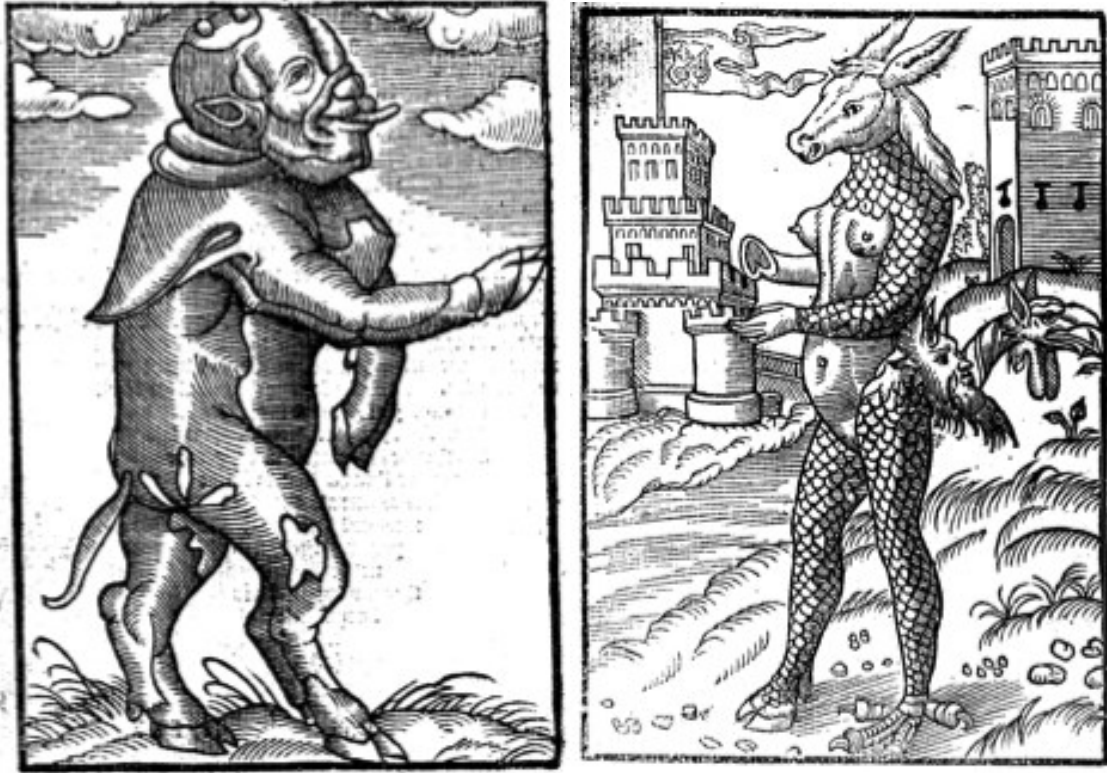


Figure 1 - The Monk-Calf and Popish Ass

Luther's monk-calf (left) and Melanchthon's popish ass (right), which initiated the early modern trend of reading monsters as prodigious emblems or signs from God. Though the pictures shown here appeared in the English pamphlet *Of Two VVoonderful Popish Monsters*, these woodcuts were copied directly from Lucas Cranach the Elder's original 1523 designs. Philip Melanchthon and Martin Luther, *Of Two VVoonderful Popish Monsters...* (London: 1579), A4v, 11v.

Chapter 1: Cheap Knowledge: from Conjoined Twins to Giant Squid

I am to deliuer as strange a producement of a prodigious birth, as was euer knowne in this part of the world; and this happened but of late, at a Towne called *Adlington* in the Parish of *Standish* neere *Wigon* in the County of *Lancaster*; where there was a childe borne of a strange and wonderfull shape, with foure legges foure Armes, two bellyes, proportionably ioyned to one back, one head two faces, like double faced *Ianus*, the one before, the other behinde, foure eyes, and two noses. It behoues vs to looke about, when such examples beyond the order of Nature are brought forth to put vs in minde of our iniquities, especially the sinnes of Adultery and fornication, which are euer iustly punished by the righteous lawe and iustice of God ...⁵²

Born 17 April 1613, this pair of female conjoined twins were featured in four different publications – two pamphlets and two chronicle books – over the course of more than a century, though only in the original *Strange Newes of a Prodigious Monster, Borne in the Towneship of Adlington*, quoted here, was their birth attributed to the wrath of God (Figure 2).⁵³ A wide variety of abnormal births and unusual physiologies – and even properly formed but uncommon creatures – were featured in inexpensive ballads, broadsides, pamphlets, and cheaply-printed small format books, and I have located about 150 such works printed in London between 1531 and c. 1800.⁵⁴ Though this is only a

⁵² Anonymous, *Strange Newes of a Prodigious Monster, Borne in the Towneship of Adlington* ... ([London]: 1613), A4v.

⁵³ Anonymous, *Strange Newes of a Prodigious Monster*. John Stow and Edmund Howes, *Annales, or, a Generall Chronicle of England* ... (London: 1631), 1003. Anonymous, *The Strange Monster or, True News from Nottingham-shire* ... ([London]: 1668), 6. [Nathaniel Crouch], *Admirable Curiosities, Rarities and Wonders in Great Britain, and Ireland* ... (8th ed., London: 1718), 108.

⁵⁴ This number does not include multiple editions of books, the large number of *Philosophical Transactions* articles which feature monsters, or works identified by the *ESTC* of which copies no longer exist. A complete list of these publications may be found in the Bibliography.

tiny proportion of the over 308,000 surviving titles printed in English or in England before 1800, multiple editions of such works indicate readers' interest.⁵⁵ For example, the anonymous *Aristotle's Masterpiece* and its sequels, which featured monstrous births as part of its discussion of pregnancy, were published in an astounding 107 editions between 1684 and the late eighteenth century, making it "the best-selling guide to pregnancy and childbirth in the eighteenth century, going into more editions than all other popular works on the topic combined".⁵⁶ Monsters were therefore an active subject of the print trade, far beyond the number of individual titles in which they were discussed. This chapter examines why monsters were such a canonical topic within cheap print and argues that they fed into the early modern desire for news which could sometimes, as with the case of the Adlington twins, also provide evidence of God's will for the people of England.

Before *news* became the reportage of recent and important events and occurrences, it simply referred to that which is *new* or novel, and both of these definitions were in use in the early modern period.⁵⁷ Whether printed as pamphlets or books, monstrous news invariably included a textual description of the monster in question, and an illustration, generally a woodblock print, often accompanied the text. Authors of cheap print about monsters advertised the accuracy of both their facts – "a very perfect

⁵⁵ Calculated from *EEBO's* estimate of 125,000 titles (from Pollard and Redgrave's *Short-Title Catalogue*, Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue*, the Thomason Tracts, and the Early English Tract Supplement), plus *ECCO's* further 183,000 titles printed in Britain and the Americas in the eighteenth century. Early English Books Online, Chadwyck-Healey, accessed 24 June 2013. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>. Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale Digital Collections, accessed 24 June 2013. <http://gdc.gale.com/products/eighteenth-century-collections-online/>.

⁵⁶ Fissell, "Hairy Women and Naked Truths," 43-74; 43, 47.

⁵⁷ "news," Oxford English Dictionary, accessed 17 February 2013, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.ohio-state.edu/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/126615>.

and faithful Account and Description thereof, sent us sometime since in a Letter from a Credible person that was an Eye-witness of that monstrous sight” – and their illustrations – “Thou hast here the true perfect Picture of this wonderful Monster, cut according to a Draught thereof sent from *Ireland*”.⁵⁸ This level of accuracy holds true for both the text and images of monstrous news; regardless of a woodcut’s artistic merits, if it graced the page of a ballad, broadsheet, or pamphlet describing a monstrous birth, the block was almost exclusively cut with that individual in mind, and the text and image complemented each other. For example, Julie Crawford found only one woodcut from a monstrous birth publication 1560-1660 which was not created uniquely for the text it illustrated.⁵⁹

Beginning in about 1600, printers began to take advantage of the growing market for cheap print, concentrating specifically on broadsides and pamphlets, short publications that even laborers could have afforded. In 1640, a twopenny pamphlet, generally between eight and sixteen pages in length, could have been quite affordable to a building craftsman who made up to 16*d.* a day; the average builder making 12*d.* a day in the 1680s could likewise have easily bought a chapbook (a pocket-sized pamphlet) for 2 or 3*d.*⁶⁰ As broadside ballads utilized less paper and entailed fewer compositor hours for typesetting than pamphlets, they would have been sold even cheaper, sticking “quite

⁵⁸ Anonymous, *A True and Perfect Account of the Miraculous Sea-Monster ...* ([London?]: 1674), 2, 4.

⁵⁹ Crawford, *Marvelous Protestantism*, 9.

⁶⁰ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 261, 269, 288. Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Methuen, 1981), 48.

closely to the halfpenny per sheet prescribed by the Stationers' Company in 1598".⁶¹ Tessa Watt argues for the ubiquity of the broadside ballad at every level of early modern English society; "ballads were stuck up on the walls in alehouses and private homes" alike, so that everyone, whether literate or not, would have had access to this intensely public medium of literature when read or sung aloud.⁶² Non-illustrated books were likewise restricted by the Stationers to this penny-per-two-sheets price, though Francis Johnson has proved that this pricing was not always strictly adhered to, as John Stow's various historical chronicles, which included accounts of monstrous births, tended to cost nearly ¾-penny per sheet. Illustrated books cost even more, being priced 75 to 100 percent higher than other books with the same number of sheets.⁶³ The several-shilling price tag of a book would have placed it beyond the regular purchasing power of a laborer, but anyone who made more than a few pounds a year could have purchased books at their leisure.

As with most kinds of news, the closer an author was to the original monster, the more accurate his portrayal of it was likely to be. Perhaps counter-intuitively, then, cheap ballads, broadsides, and pamphlets printed within a few weeks or months of a monster's birth were generally more accurate in their textual and visual information than were the cheaply-printed chronicle books which compiled centuries' worth of

⁶¹ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 262. Francis Johnson points out that, with the exception of broadsides, "2d. seems to have been the minimum price at which a printed work was offered to the public". Francis R. Johnson, "Notes on English Retail Book-Prices, 1550-1640", *The Library* 5.2 (5th series, September 1950), 83-112, quotation 93.

⁶² Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 12-13.

⁶³ The three works Johnson cites are Stow's *Summary of the Chronicles* (1575, approximate cost unbound 3s. 8d.), *Abridgement of the Chronicles* (1618, approximate unbound cost 2s. 4d.), and *Survey of London* (1633, actual unbound cost 15s.). Johnson, "Notes on English Retail Book-Prices", 90, 111.

newsworthy events into a few hundred pages. Ultimately, this means that the marginally-literate poor could have received news about monstrous births that was at least as accurate as that available to the better-heeled *literati*.⁶⁴

The 150 individual cheap titles – pamphlets, broadsheets, and small-format books – which discussed monstrous births featured perhaps 400 individual cases of monstrosity from across Western Europe. However, conducting a more accurate count of individual monstrous births is difficult for several reasons. First, single monsters could appear in anywhere from one to a dozen different printed items; and the vast majority of unusual births probably never appeared in print at all. Second, it is not always possible to determine whether a given hydrocephalic infant, for example, was the same as another mentioned in a separate source.⁶⁵ Third, the total only includes monsters described in *surviving* sources, always a problem for cheap print studies where the attrition rate was particularly high; for example, nearly half of the 400 monsters appeared in only a single English source. Finally, it is difficult to determine which unusual or unfamiliar anatomies should count toward this total. For example, beached whales were often considered monstrous, and are discussed in this context later in this chapter, but were simultaneously recognized as standard oceanic creatures and therefore may not have been reported with great regularity.

⁶⁴ The advent of the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* in the mid-seventeenth century, as well as the Dublin and Edinburgh societies' publications beginning in the eighteenth century, changes this dynamic, as the journals' articles and illustrations were almost exclusively of a higher quality than any of the forms of cheap print. See also Chapter 4 below.

⁶⁵ The estimate of 400 individual monsters is from my own database, compiled in the process of researching this dissertation. Based upon modern rates of fetal deformity, only a small percentage of early modern anatomical abnormalities were printed about; the Middleton Stoney twins (discussed below) were featured in ten English titles, at least one Continental publication, and a sixteenth-century diary, but this is a distinct outlier.

On the other hand, conjoined twins are a remarkably conspicuous abnormality despite how uncommon the condition actually is among live births, and such infants were recorded out of all proportion to their actual incidence amongst other physical deformities. In the 1550s, the annual English birth rate barely exceeded 100,000 per year. By the 1650s, this rate had risen to 145,000, and by the 1750s the rate approached 200,000 births per year.⁶⁶ Given modern incidence rates of one set of conjoined twins per 200,000 live births, three-quarters of the identical females, this would suggest that approximately 150 sets of live conjoined twins were born in England between 1550 and 1750, with perhaps as many sets stillborn during the same period.⁶⁷ However, it is possible to conclusively identify only 26 sets of human conjoined twins described in English print and born in England or Wales, plus another two born in Ireland, between 1472 and 1780 (Table 1).⁶⁸ Individual cases of conjoinment are relatively easy to tell apart, even when few details about the birth are provided by the source; for example, even without the geo-temporal identifiers, the description of “a man Chylde wyth one heade, vnto whiche was ioyned from the Nauil downewarde, two bodies, that is, foure

⁶⁶ Birth rates for England (less Monmouth) were calculated by taking the average rates from the years 1550-9, 1650-9, and 1750-9, as cited in E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, with Ronald Lee and Jim Oeppen, *The Population History of England 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 494.

⁶⁷ Lewis Spitz, “Conjoined Twins” in *Pediatric Surgery and Urology: Long-Term Outcomes*, edited by Mark D. Stringer, Keith T. Oldham, and Pierre D. E. Mouriquand (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1005-14; quotation 1006. Nearly 30 million babies were born from 1550-1749; if one in 200,000 of these births were live conjoined twins, that equates to around 150 sets of living conjoined infants. Wrigley and Schofield, *The Population History of England*, 494.

⁶⁸ As will be mentioned in the Conclusion, almost no cheap publications about monsters were produced in either Ireland or Scotland, nor were many Irish or Scottish monsters mentioned in English print. Geoffrey Parker suggests that Ireland’s population throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may have hovered around 2 million, and Michael Flinn, *et al.*, reckons a population of around 1 million for Scotland in both 1600 and 1700. Private correspondence with Geoffrey Parker (The Ohio State University), 8/5/13. Michael Flinn, ed., *Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

“buttockes thighes and legs” born at Taunton, Somerset in 1576, is quite distinct from the “two Girles, which grew fast together face to face, hauing all seuerall limbes and members, proper to the sex” born in 1625 to an herb-wife in Tower Street, London.⁶⁹ Even if we acknowledge that the 26 English births are only those which could be conclusively identified as distinct births – indicating that more sets of conjoined twins actually had been printed about – this number remains vanishingly smaller than the statistics indicate should have been born. Perhaps the treatment given to the two-headed stillbirth in James Paris du Plessis’s family home – an unremarked burial in the garden to quickly hide a family’s shame – was a common practice in such cases (see Chapter 5).

If we include all 76 cases of conjoined twins, Continental and British, recorded in English print, we see fourteen sets of twins featured only in cheap print, all of whom were born in the British Isles; 39 pairs described solely in books, of whom all but two were born on the Continent; eleven who appeared only in the *Philosophical Transactions*; one in a news periodical; and the remaining eleven whose births were discussed in a combination of media, almost exclusively in both cheap print and books (Figure 4). In the final category of mixed media sources, five of the births occurred in England and the remaining six on the Continent; the cheap publication preceded or was published in the same year as the book description in all of the English births, and this pattern was only broken in the descriptions of the 1567 birth of conjoined girls in Antwerp, Belgium and the 1569 birth at Tours, France of twins joined at the head.⁷⁰ However, these publishing

⁶⁹ Lycosthenes, *The Doome Warning*, 402. Stow, *Annales*, 1041.

⁷⁰ Anonymous, *Strange Newes of a Prodigious Monster*. Boaistuau, *Certaine Secrete Wonders of Nature*, 146v. Paré, *The Workes of that Famous Chirurgeon*, 967. BL N.Tab.2026/25, tract 30, “A Collection of 77

anomalies can be plausibly explained by the births having occurred outside of England; the children are likely to have been described in Continental cheap print, perhaps out of the Netherlands or Paris, shortly after their respective births, and by the time they experienced their London debuts, they were already familiar to reading audiences closer to home. In the early modern period as today, one could receive much timelier news by purchasing a broadside or pamphlet – the early precursors to our modern newspapers – than by waiting for the book to come out.

A typical printed chronicle description was no longer than a sentence and contained only minimal information on a birth: “In *Rotwill* a Towne of *Germany* scituate by the Woode *Hircinia*, a Chylde was borne [in 1494] with two heades, four handes and two feete”.⁷¹ This tendency for books to boil down the descriptions of monsters can be seen quite explicitly in an examination of the infants’ sexes. Of the 76 pairs of European conjoined twins, 29 were female, 16 male, 9 hermaphroditic or with one twin of each sex, and 22 with no sex given. This distribution relatively closely follows the modern incidence of three sets of female conjoined twins to every pair of conjoined males born (i.e. 75% of all conjoined twins are female).⁷² For British twins, the distribution was 65% female (13 out of 20 births identified as either female or male), though the sample size is too small to be more than coincidentally significant. More definite, though, was the distribution of infants for whom no sex was listed: 18 of these 22 cases were born on the Continent, and the majority (15 out of 22) were described in printed chronicles

Advertisements Relating to Dwarfs, Giants, and Other Monsters and Curiosities Exhibited for Public Inspection”.

⁷¹ Lycosthenes, *The Doome Warning*, 286.

⁷² Spitz, “Conjoined Twins,” 1006.

(Figures 3-4). Book descriptions were noticeably truncated compared to their cheap antecedents, and it seems as though sex was one of the descriptors often left out. However, while printed chronicles may have been low on details, they were often the only venue for news about historical births. For example, 35 of the 39 cases that English audiences learned about only from books appeared in Steven Batman's translation of Konrad Lycosthenes's chronicle – identified by Jennifer Spinks as part of the “wonder book” genre for its focus on “monstrous births and various other wonders and disasters across decades, centuries or even millennia – titled in English *The Doome Warning All Men to the Judgemente*, including all but one of those sets born before the year 1547.⁷³ As the first English broadside ballad describing identifiable conjoined twins – the girls born in Middleton Stoney, Oxfordshire – was not published until 1552 and was not followed by another, similar piece of cheap print until the birth of twins in Herne, Kent and in Stony Stratford, Buckinghamshire in 1565, printed chronicles provided England's only printed accounts of conjoined births before the mid-sixteenth century.

Dubbed a “marueilous straunge mo[n]ster” by the chronicler John Stow, the Middleton Stoney twins were born during the reign of Edward VI in Oxfordshire.⁷⁴ The first description of the birth, published in 1552 by John Day, begins

Thou shalte understande (Chrysten Reader) that the thyerde daye of August last past. Anno. M.CCCCC.Lii. betwene the houres of .x. and a xi. at after noone in a towne called Myddleton stonye. viii. miles from the Uniuersitie of Oxorde at the In, called the sygne of the Egle, There the good wife of

⁷³ Eight of these 39 births additionally appeared in one or more of the following books: Boaistuau, *Certaine Secrete Wonders of Nature*; Stow and Howes, *Annales*; Anonymous, *Aristotle's Master-Piece Completed, in Two Parts ...* (London: 1697); [Nathaniel Crouch], *Surprizing Miracles of Nature and Art ...* (4th ed., London: 1708). The only birth not mentioned in Lycosthenes appeared in Paré, *The Workes of that Famous Chirurgion*, 973. Spinks, *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture*, 81.

⁷⁴ John Stow, *A Summarie of the Chronicles of England ...* (London: 1574), f. 363r.

the same, was deliuered of thys double Chylde, begotten of her late housbande John Kenner whyche is dysceased.⁷⁵

The twins were joined at the pelvis, with the heads at opposite ends of the shared body, a form of conjoined twinning today referred to as ischiopagus.⁷⁶ The children displayed incomplete separation of one pair of legs, “one legge with .ii. feete hauing but .ix. toes, monstrous both legge and feete”, a feature which sets them apart from other early modern cases of conjoinment and makes them relatively easy to track through subsequent publications (Figures 5-6). Such a detailed description of both the birth’s circumstances and the infants’ appearance was standard fare for broadsides, as was the sheet’s format, consisting of an image, a ballad verse, and a prose description of the case. Less common was the message of the verse, which not only attributed the monstrous birth to God – a regular aspect of such cheap print – but also gave a degree of agency to the Devil: “Our bodies growe, al out of kinde / Our shape is Straunge to Syght, / So Satan hath drawne mans monstons [*sic*] mynd / From God, from truth and right. / Wonder no more, make straight your waies / Stand fast and feare to fall, / The Lorde hath sent us in these dayes / An Image for you all”.⁷⁷ The twins’ appearance was here blamed on God’s censure of man for being led astray by the Devil.

The Middleton Stoney twins were described in at least a dozen different titles (plus a diary entry) in the centuries following their birth, which provides an excellent opportunity to trace a case of monstrosity through its iterations in various forms of cheap

⁷⁵ Anonymous, *Thou Shalte Understande (Chrysten Reader)* ... (London: 1552), single sheet.

⁷⁶ R. E. Andrews, *et al.*, “Echocardiographic Assessment of Conjoined Twins”, *Heart* 92, no. 3 (March 2006), 382-7, chart 383. Bates was incorrect in his identification of the Middleton Stoney twins as thoracopagus; see Bates, “Conjoined Twins in the 16th Century,” 521-8, chart 522; and Bates, “Birth Defects,” 202-7.

⁷⁷ Anonymous, *Thou Shalte Understande (Chrysten Reader)*, single sheet.

print.⁷⁸ The original broadside contains details absent from any of the later accounts of the twins. First, the children were described as “of good lyking and in good possibilitye (by all mens iudgementes that haue sene them) to lyue”. In fact, as handwritten annotations on the British Museum copy of the broadsheet indicate, they died later in August, the first on the 17th and the second on the 18th; Jakob Rueff’s much later assertion that “one of them lived fifteene daies, and the other lived one day more” agrees with this timeline.⁷⁹ Of necessity, the original broadsheet must therefore have been printed sometime between their birth on 3 August and the first twin’s death on the 17th. We know that the London diarist Henry Machyn obtained a copy of the broadside between 10 and 15 August, as he paraphrased its description in his diary – “monstrus!” – and only later, between 19 and 30 August, updated his former entry with the note that “the xviii day of August d[i]ed the dobull chelderyn, one, and the th’odur d[i]ed the xix day; I pray God have mersy!”⁸⁰ Unfortunately, Machyn did not indicate how he heard this second bit of news. Whenever later accounts mentioned the infants’ death, they almost exclusively cited the twins as having lived eighteen days, conflating the number of days they had lived with the date on which they died, though the map seller and navigational instrument maker John Seller asserted that they died after fourteen days,

⁷⁸ Eleven of these titles were published in England; the twelfth was cut out of Konrad Lycosthenes, *Prodigiorym ac Otentovum Chronicon* ... (Basel: [1557]), 619. Outside of cheap print, the twins were also mentioned in passing as a token of King Edward VI’s death in John Ponet, *A Shorte Treatise of Politike Pouuer* ... ([Strasbourg]: 1556), K3v, K4v.

⁷⁹ Anonymous, *Thou Shalte Understande (Chrysten Reader)*, single sheet. Rueff, *The Expert Midwife*, 152.

⁸⁰ Machyn’s first mention of the twins appears in the diary between the entries for August 10 and 15, implying that he obtained the broadsheet between these dates. Henry Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor or London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563*, edited by John Gough Nichols (New York and London: Camden Society, 1848), 23-4.

which corresponds to a birth date of 3 August and a death date of 17 August.⁸¹ Moreover, Seller claimed that the children were “killed at last by cold, in being too often exposed naked, to sate people’s curiosity”, an assertion which might well be true, considering how individuals with anatomical anomalies were often put on display for monetary gain throughout the early modern period (see Chapters 2 and 3).⁸²

John Day’s broadside also implied that the twins were originally thought to be male and female, as they “were Baptised by the Mydwyfe and named John [and] Johane [Joan]”, though later accounts which mention the sex invariably describe them as female.⁸³ Presumably, the clarification came in the form of a dissection, as Stow asserted that “when they were opened, it appeared they were women chyldren”.⁸⁴ While no corroborating evidence for a dissection of the twins survives, this was not an unusual practice if an interested anatomist could convince the parents to sell him the anomalous

⁸¹ The exception to this rule is Rueff, *The Expert Midwife*, 152. Stow, *A Summarie of the Chronicles of England*, f. 363v. Lycosthenes, *The Doome Warning*, 358. T.I., *A World of Wonders. A Masse of Murthers. A Covie of Cosonages ...* (London: 1595), D4r. Stow, *Annales*, 608. Anonymous, *The Strange Monster or, True News from Nottingham-Shire*, 5. Crouch, *Admirable Curiosities*, 154. [Nathaniel Crouch], *A New View, and Observations on the Ancient and Present State of London and Westminster ...* (London: 1730), 417. Laurence Worms, “John Seller (bap. 1632, d. 1697),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 26 July 2013. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25058>.

⁸² [John Seller], *The History of England ...* (London: 1696), 512. On the exhibition of monsters, see Stephen Pender, “In the Bodyshop: Human Exhibition in Early Modern England” in “*Defects*”: *Engendering the Modern Body*, edited by Helen Deutsch and Felicity Nussbaum (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 95-126. And Anita Guerrini, “Advertising Monstrosity: Broadside and Human Exhibition in Early Eighteenth-Century London”, in *Ballads and Broadside in Britain, 1500-1800*, edited by Patricia Fumerton, Anita Guerrini, and Kris McAbee (Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 109-27.

⁸³ Anonymous, *Thou Shalte Understande (Chrysten Reader)*, single sheet. Stow, *A Summarie of the Chronicles of England*, f. 363v. Lycosthenes, *The Doome Warning*, 358. Stow, *Annales*, 608. Anonymous, *The Strange Monster or, True News from Nottingham-Shire*, 5. Seller, *The History of England*, 511. Crouch, *Admirable Curiosities*, 154.

⁸⁴ Stow, *A Summarie of the Chronicles of England*, f. 363v.

body.⁸⁵ The 1552 account, and Machyn's diary entry detailing it, was also the only one to mention the names of either children or parents, as well as specific details of the twins' first few days:

They were fedde .ii. dayes wyth Cow milcke, and did not suck of a woman til the third day. ... The face of the one wyll shewe a cherfull countenance on suche as looke vppon theim, when the other is fast a slepe, and either of them doth syldom cry. And as thei report which kepe the Children, thei neuer slepe both at once, but whyle the one slepeth, the other is wakyng. The lengthe of them was at the thyrd day after their byrth .xx. ynches. And ther bredth was then .vi. ynches. And also these sayde Chyldren were Baptised by the Mydwyfe and named John Johane, and after brought to the Church, alowed also by the Curate, and receyued by him into the Congregacion ...⁸⁶

Not only were the infants expected not to live past the birth, as the midwife would not have baptized healthy children, but they were unable to suckle for the first 48 hours, another sign that they might not live long. By the third day, they had begun nursing like normal infants and were healthy enough to be measured the curious author of John Day's broadside. However, according to Seller, the twins were shown to too many such gawkers, likely contributing to their early death.

The sixteenth-century printer Henry Bynneman published two works, by the humanist Pierre Boaistuau (1569) and the humanist and encyclopedist Konrad Lycosthenes (1581), that featured the Middleton Stoney twins and utilized a single woodblock as illustration (Figure 7), an image which had obviously been copied from the original 1552 broadside. Jakob Rueff's seventeenth-century woodcut of the children could have been based upon any of the above images (Figure 8). Lycosthenes, printed

⁸⁵ As Daston and Park point out, learned journals regularly reported dissections in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though a mid-sixteenth-century dissection may have been less common. Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 203.

⁸⁶ Anonymous, *Thou Shalte Understande (Chrysten Reader)*, single sheet.

second, included more details about the twins' lives than did the earlier Boaistuau, indicating that though Bynneman reused a woodblock which he had already owned when printing Lycosthenes, he kept the texts separate and true to their respective authors.⁸⁷ Aside from John Day's broadside and these two books printed by Bynneman, this pair of twins were pictured in at least one other work, which survives as a clipping pasted into the Folger Shakespeare Library's copy of the anonymous pamphlet *The Strange Monster or, True News from Nottingham-Shire* (Figure 9). The woodcut is accompanied by a brief Latin description of the birth, which conforms with any given English account:

On the third of August between the tenth and eleventh hours of the night in Middleton Stoney in England an infant was born with two bodies and two heads, four hands, one belly, one navel, and one bowel for expelling the excrement of nature. With two feet formed with the proper proportions from one side of the body, with a single giant foot from the other side, but composed of two legs, and adorned with nine digits.⁸⁸

This print, clearly snipped out of a book based upon the format of the image in relation to the text, in fact belongs to the original Latin version of Lycosthenes, printed at Basel in 1557. That the compiler cut apart a book in order to paste an image and accompanying Latin description into a pamphlet (Figure 10) is quite unusual. Presumably, if the compiler had purchased the Latin book new, he would have bought it with the intention of reading the text as a whole, and would therefore have been less likely to have removed

⁸⁷ Boaistuau, *Certaine Secrete Wonders of Nature*, 141; Lycosthenes, *The Doome Warning*, 358. Based upon an EEBO search of publications bearing Bynneman's name, Bynneman did not use this woodblock outside of these two books.

⁸⁸ "Tertio Augusti inter de cimam ac undecimam noctis horam, Mideltostoni in Anglia, nat9 [sic] est infans duobus corporibus atque capitibus, quatuor manibus, unico uentre, umbilico, ac aluo ad eiicienda naturae excrementa. Ab una parte corporis duob. pedib. iusta proportionem formati, ab altera unico pedetantum, sed ex duobus conflato, ac nouem digitis ornato", translation mine. Found between pages 4 and 5 of the Folger Shakespeare Library's copy of Anonymous, *The Strange Monster or, True News from Nottingham-Shire*, opposite 5. Cut out of Lycosthenes, *Prodigiorm ac Otentovum Chronicon*, 619.

a single page. This suggests that perhaps he instead purchased his copy of Lycosthenes used.

The Strange Monster or, True News from Nottingham-Shire is one of seven monstrous birth tracts bound together and held by the Folger Shakespeare Library. All but one come from the seventeenth century, with the last constituting a single page etching pasted opposite the final page of *The Strange Monster or, True News from Nottingham-Shire* and described only as “an 18th-century title” in the Folger’s catalogue but which may well be one of the copies of the etching produced by William Burnet when he wrote to the Royal Society about the Hungarian conjoined twins Helen and Judith in 1708 (Figure 74).⁸⁹ The seven works bound together are:

- Anonymous, *Strange Newes of a Prodigious Monster Borne in the Towneship of Adlington in the Parish of Standish in the Countie of Lancaster* ... ([London]: 1613).
- Thomas Bedford, *A True and Certain Relation of a Strange-Birth which was Borne at Stone-house in the Parish of Plimmouth* ... (London: 1635).
- Anonymous, *A Declaration of a Strange and Wonderfull Monster: Born in Kirkham Parish in Lancashire* ... (London: 1646).
- Anonymous, *The True and Most Miraculous Narrative, of a Child Born with Two Tongues* ... (London: 1659).
- Anonymous, *A Brief Narrative of a Strange and Wonderful Old Woman that hath a Pair of Horns Growing upon her Head* ... (London: 1676).
- Anonymous, *The Strange Monster or, True News from Nottingham-Shire* ... ([London], 1668), in which is interleaved the page from Konrad Lycosthenes, *Prodigiorym ac Otentovum Chronicon* ... (Basel: [1557]).
- Anonymous, *Corpora Binarum Sic Concrerere Sororum* ([London?: 1708?]).

⁸⁹ This etching is extremely similar but not identical to that “engraved again” to accompany Burnet’s letter when it was published in the *Philosophical Transactions* in 1757 (see Chapter 4 below). Folger Shakespeare Library, catalogue entry for *The Strange Monster or, True News from Nottingham-Shire* ..., <http://shakespeare.folger.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=147198>. Justo Johanne Torkos and William Burnet, “Observationes Anatomico-Medicae, de Monstro Bicorporeo Virgineo A. 1701. Die 26 Oct. in Pannonia, Infra Comaromium, in Possessione Szony, Quondam Quiritum Bregetione, in Lucem Ibidemque Sepulto. Authore Justo Johanne Torkos, M. D. Soc. Regalis Socio”, *Philosophical Transactions* 50 (1757-1758), 311-22; citations 316-7 and Tab. XIII.

The current binding must of necessity post-date the publication of the etching, though we do not know the compiler's identity.⁹⁰ However, as the collection encompasses works printed more than a century apart – between 1557 and 1708 – the compiler would have had to buy used, or possibly to inherit, the majority of the texts which were eventually bound together. At the very least, we know that some eighteenth-century individual found these antique pamphlets interesting enough to preserve them as a set.

Far more common than the Middleton Stoney twins' extensive literary afterlife – and subsequent remixing in one compiler's set – were cases like the Swanburne twins (Figure 11), who were featured in a single broadside ballad and then forgotten. *The True Description of Two Monsterous Children* provides a detailed account of the circumstances surrounding the birth of the conjoined twins “laufully begotten betwene George Steuens and Margerie his wyfe, and borne in the parish of Swanburne, in Buckynghamshyre the iiij. of Aprill, Anno Domini 1566”. The twins were cited as “tokens true and manifest, / how God by dyuers wayes: / Doth styrre vs to amendment of / our vyle and cenkred lyfe”, which the author colorfully compared to the ungodly “*Affrique* land”, otherwise known as Islamic Africa. These infants – also baptized John and Joan – lived for only half-an-hour after the birth.⁹¹ Similarly, the child with a rabbit's head “*borne at Oteringham in Holdernes*” to the “honest” couple John and Elizabeth Rawling was seen as a “thing as I take it sent of God to forewarne vs of our wickednes”. This pamphlet consisted of a printed letter from a “V. Duncalfe”, resident of the parish of Ottringham, Yorkshire where the child had been born, which had ostensibly

⁹⁰ The collection's binding is from the eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Private correspondence with Georgianna Ziegler (Louis B. Thalheimer Head of Reference, Folger Shakespeare Library), 10/19/11.

⁹¹ John Mellys, *The True Description of Two Monsterous Children* ... (London: [1566]), single sheet.

been penned at the instigation of Duncalfe's friend "M.S.", an inhabitant of "Rosse" – perhaps the Herefordshire town Ross-on-Wye – as M.S.'s letter is included in the pamphlet before Duncalfe's. M.S. had heard "diuers reportes" of the birth, presumably in the form of oral gossip, and therefore begged Duncalfe for the "fauour" of replying with further news of the same.⁹²

The cover of the pamphlet advertising the rabbit-faced birth featured a woodcut of the female child (Figure 12) which closely matched the attached description of her unusual anatomy: "The head wherof was like a Conny: The handes was like a mole: The bodie, legges, & feete like a woman, hauing also the preueties like a woman, it had no heare on the head or other partes, and the skinne was very blacke and feareful to the eyes of the beholders". While certainly prodigious – the birth was surely a warning from God "of the punishments whiche he hath prepared for sin" – this particular child's appearance was not read emblematically; rather, the descriptors rabbit-faced, cat-faced, and the like referred not to the literal rabbit's head featured in the pamphlet's woodcut nor to a rabbit-related warning from God but figuratively to cleft lips and palates: "cloven lips, after the forme and manner of the mouth of a Hare (... are named Hare-lips)".⁹³ Both Jakob Rueff and Nicholas Culpeper blamed cleft lips on maternal impression: "The cause of it is well known to be the Mother in the time of her Conception being affrighted either with sudden starting of an Hare or Coney, or by losing her Longing to eat a piece of such a

⁹² V. Duncalfe, *Most Certaine Report of a Monster* ... ([London?: 1595]), A1r, A2r, A3r.

⁹³ Duncalfe, *Most Certaine Report of a Monster*, A3v. Rueff, *The Expert Midwife*, 154. Bates, *Emblematic Monsters*, 184.

Creature”.⁹⁴ Despite being unusual enough to feature in a single broadside, the Ottringham girl was not described in any subsequent publications.

Fascinating evidence of readership – or possibly simply early modern graffiti – is provided by Thomas Bedford’s pamphlet *A Trve and Certaine Relation of a Strange-Birth*. The pamphlet was printed by Anne Griffin in 1635 in two separate print runs which are practically identical: both contain identical typesetting and the same errors in pagination, indicating that they are the result of a single composition of the text. Only two details separate the pamphlets. First, Anne Griffin printed one set of pamphlets “for *William Russell* in *Plimmouth*” and the other “for *Anne Bowler* dwelling at the Marigold in *S. Pauls Church-yard*”.⁹⁵ Second, the twins pictured in the copy of the Bowler pamphlet owned by the Folger Shakespeare Library have had pupils drawn in by an interested, or possibly bored, reader (Figure 13, left).

The accompanying letter’s author, the minister Thomas Bedford, appears to have been leery of the quality of the woodcut which would accompany the printed pamphlet, perhaps indicating the perceived inaccuracy of many such illustrations.⁹⁶ He began,

To the Curious *Beholder* of the former Picture. / *Deare Countrey-man*. / Not the mere fiction of the over-daring Picturer doest thou here behold: But (if he have done his part) the true Pourtraiture of the worke of God, presented to the world to be seene and to be admired. / Two things have I to deliver to thine eare, which this figure cannot convey unto thine eye. First, what it intendeth: Next, how thou maiest correct the Picture, if it need amending.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives*, 104. Rueff, *The Expert Midwife*, 154-5.

⁹⁵ Thomas Bedford, *A Trve and Certaine Relation of a Strange-Birth* ... (London: 1635). Respectively, the pamphlets’ *Short Title Catalogue* numbers are 1791.3 (owned by the Folger Shakespeare Library) and 1791 (owned by the Henry E. Huntington Library).

⁹⁶ Crawford, *Marvelous Protestantism*, 22.

⁹⁷ Bedford, *A Trve and Certaine Relation of a Strange-Birth*, 1.

This obvious skepticism is quite different from the declarations of the truth and accuracy that ran through most monstrous publications, though Bedford's claim that the twins' appearance was "the worke of God" was certainly standard enough for the period in which he was writing.⁹⁸ Out of 45 monstrous birth ballads, broadsides, and pamphlets printed before 1650 (Bedford published in 1635), all but three credited God's will with the creation of monsters, whereas only half of those printed 1651 to 1800 did so.⁹⁹ As if his first warning about the woodcut were not enough, Bedford further framed his description of the twins' anatomical configuration in terms of "how to correct the picture, if it need amendment". Despite Bedford's misgivings, however, the woodcut seems to have been rather accurate. The twins appeared at first glance "to bee no other than two bodies joyned together in one common skin", though he clarified that "I soone perceived mine Errour, when putting my finger to feele the Collar ... I found that they had but one breast-bone common to them both ... This concorporation lasted downe to the Navell or a little beneath, which also was in common to them both".¹⁰⁰ Indeed, the only detail included in the woodcut that did not appear in Bedford's text was the twins' sex; apparently they were boys.

An even more compelling example of readership can be seen in the case of a "monstrous Chylde, borne at Chycester in Sussex, the. xxiiii. daye of May. M. CCCCC.

⁹⁸ Ironically, a broadside which advertised itself as "the true portriture of a prodigious monster" actually depicted a fully fictional creature; indeed, this may be the sort of publication which Bedford had in mind when he warned his readers against taking the woodcut accompanying *A Trve and Certaine Relation of a Strange-Birth* at face value. Anonymous, *The Trve Portritvre of a Prodigious Monster. Taken in the Mountaines of Zardana* ... ([London?]: [1655]), single sheet. Anonymous, *The True Portraiture of a Prodigious Monster, Taken in the Mountains of Zardana* ... (London: 1655), single sheet.

⁹⁹ Out of a total of 91 tracts, 65 credited God with the birth of monsters, beached whales, and other phenomena: 42 were published before 1650 and 23 after. Of the 26 titles which did not cite Divine will, all but three dated from after 1651.

¹⁰⁰ Bedford, *A Trve and Certaine Relation of a Strange-Birth*, 4-5.

LXII. [1562]”. Aside from the detailed woodcut (Figure 14), the broadsheet contained no description of the birth, only adding the detail that the child’s father, Vincent, was a butcher.¹⁰¹ At least four additional printed accounts of the boy’s birth exist, each of which copied nearly verbatim the description contained in John Stow’s *Summarie of the Chronicles of England*:

The xxiiii. daye of Maye [1562] a monstros chylde was borne at *Chicester* in *Sussex*, the head armes and legges lyke vnto an Anatomie, the breaste and bealye monstroos bygge, from the nauille, as it wer along stringe hangyng: about the necke a greate coller of fleshe and skynne growyng like to the Ruffe of a shyrt or neckerchief, commynge vp aboute the eares pleyting [pleating] or folding. &c.¹⁰²

In this context, an *anatomy* refers to a body emaciated to the point that little of the musculature remains, though the boy’s “monstroos bygge” belly still clearly contained his internal organs; the folded skin above his ears, if also present in the Ottringham girl, could have made them seem larger and more rabbit-like.¹⁰³ Whether Stow’s text, published twelve years after the original broadsheet, was describing the sheet’s woodcut or instead copying text from a lost publication is unclear. At the very least, Stow’s account does match the fetus in the picture, and the original broadsheet’s 1562 date suggests that it would have been the first publication to describe the birth.

¹⁰¹ John D., *A Discription of a Monstrous Chylde, Borne at Chycester in Sussex* ... (London: 1562), single page. My use of the word “macrated” comes from the physician A. W. Bates’s description of the case; I disagree with Bates’s claim that the fetus was “of some seventeen weeks’ gestation”, as the broadside clearly states that the mother “went with this [child] her full tyme”. Bates, “Birth Defects,” 204-5.

¹⁰² Stow, *A Summarie of the Chronicles of England*, 397v-398r. The other three accounts are contained within: Lycosthenes, *The Doome Warning*, 390. Stow, *Annales*, 648. Anonymous, *The Strange Monster or, True News from Nottingham-shire*, 5.

¹⁰³ “anatomy”, Oxford English Dictionary, accessed 14 June 2012, <http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.ohio-state.edu/view/Entry/7179>.

The evidence of readership of the original broadside comes in the form of the probated will of John Fulwood the Younger. The will itself was fairly ordinary; Fulwood commended his soul to God, his body “to be buried in the churche of Tanworth nere vnto my mother”, and his worldly goods to his surviving friends and family. Where the will became unusual was the decorative capital for “Probatum” – in which was inscribed the Latin phrase “prodigies which, contrary to the course of nature, saw the light, Anno Domini 1562” (the year the will was probated and enrolled) – and the top and right margins of the probate register, which were filled with monstrous sketches (Figure 15).¹⁰⁴ Beyond its re-use as testamentary decoration, this broadsheet’s woodcut is also unusual in that it featured not a living child but rather a dead one; infants with abnormal physicalities were almost exclusively portrayed as alive and older than their years, regardless of whether the child was alive or dead at the time of publication, but there is no mistaking the Chichester anatomy for anything but dead.¹⁰⁵

While not printed about as often as human monstrous births, abnormal animals also appeared in cheap print and in fact featured in the earliest monstrous broadsheet printed in England. The 1531 broadside described conjoined piglets born near Königsberg in Prussia who “had a great wyde mouth / with two eyen / foure eares / no stomacke nor guttes / & two hertes / viii. fete / and the body was growe[n] to gyther from the nauyll vp to the hede”, and it is singular in that the woodcut and English text were

¹⁰⁴ TNA PROB 11/45/76, 57r-58r, Prerogative Court of Canterbury and Related Probate Jurisdictions: Will Registers, Will of John Fulwood of Tanworth, Warwickshire. Translation by Julie Crawford. Crawford mistakenly attributes the inscription and images to the probated will of Margaret Lane of London, which follows that of John Fulwood. Crawford, *Marvelous Protestantism*, 44.

¹⁰⁵ Bates, *Emblematic Monsters*, 30. Wilson, *Signs and Portents*, 116, 152.

printed in different countries.¹⁰⁶ The broadsheet first appeared with German inscriptions at top left and right, above hand-colored front-and-back views of the piglets (Figure 16); this original edition, uniquely preserved at the Schlossmuseum Gotha, is the only surviving copy which has retained the Nuremberg publisher Niclas Meldeman's name. At least some of this print run were then exported and reprinted with an English translation of the original German headers placed between the images (Figure 17); a pair of decorative ornamental blocks added by the English printer allowed Malcolm Jones to identify him as Peter Treveris of Southwark. According to Sheila O'Connell and David Paisey, who have examined each of the three surviving copies, the paper on which each broadside was printed shares a watermark and thus all of the original German copies were "printed from the same block on the same press at about the same time", negating the possibility that the woodblocks themselves could have been imported to England. It is unclear at what stage the German headers and imprint were trimmed from the English versions (Figure 18), as the only surviving bilingual copy retains the headers but is missing the original imprint (Figure 17).¹⁰⁷ Aside from its unusual origins, this broadside otherwise conforms to the standards of monstrous news: the woodcuts were certainly produced with this birth in mind, and both the English and German texts, though brief, agreed with and supplemented the pictures.

Anatomically normal and yet uncommon animals were described in the same terms as abnormal births – "most monstrous", "strange", "prodigious" – and regularly

¹⁰⁶ Anonymous, *This Horrible Monster is Cast of a Sowe ...* ([Nuremberg and London]: 1531), single sheet.

¹⁰⁷ Sheila O'Connell and David Paisey, "This Horrible Monster: An Anglo-German Broadside of 1531", *Print Quarterly* 16 (1999), 57-63, quotation 58. Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, 237.

featured in broadsides and pamphlets.¹⁰⁸ Whales, dolphins, and other sea creatures, for example, would have been a fairly common sight in the British Isles, but they were exciting and newsworthy to the town on whose shore they washed up, not least because they illustrated “the Workes of God how great and straunge they be.” “Presaging the several Mutations which are approaching to Kingdoms, States, and Common-wealths”, the anonymous author of *A Most Strange, but True Account of a Very Large Sea-Monster* declared, “something appears wond’rous in the Heavens, Earth or watery Element, by frightful Blazing Comets, monstrous Births, or strange Fishes leaving their deep Habitations of the Sea to swim in Brooks and Rivers”.¹⁰⁹ While not only sea creatures appeared in cheap print – for example, elephants were printed about whenever they were brought to London – accounts of whales and other “fishes” far outnumber descriptions of land animals.¹¹⁰

One of the most artistically impressive examples of such a surprising creature appeared in a broadsheet from 1566 (Figure 19). The woodcut clearly depicts a giant squid and constitutes the earliest recognizable image of a member of the genus *Architeuthis*.¹¹¹ The picture does contain some anatomical inconsistencies: as Richard

¹⁰⁸ Anonymous, *The Discription of a Rare or Rather Most Monstrous Fishe ...* (London: 1566), single sheet. Anonymous, *A True Report and Exact Description of a Mighty Sea-Monster, or Whale ...* (London: 1617), title page. Anonymous, *A True and Perfect Relation of a Monstrous and Prodigious Whale ...* (London: 1679), title page.

¹⁰⁹ Anonymous, *The Discription of a Rare or Rather Most Monstrous Fishe*, single sheet. Anonymous, *A Most Strange, but True Account of a Very Large Sea-Monster ...* (London: [1704]), single page.

¹¹⁰ Anonymous, *A True and Perfect Description of the Strange and Wonderful Elephant ...* ([London?]: 1675). Anonymous, *A True and Perfect Description of the Strange and Wonderful She-Elephant ...* (London: 1683).

¹¹¹ The marine conservationist Richard Ellis, author of *The Search for the Giant Squid: The Biology and Mythology of the World’s Most Elusive Sea Creature* (New York: Penguin Books, 1998), has confirmed that this woodcut most likely represents a squid of the genus *Architeuthis*. Personal correspondence, 18 June 2012. The earliest clearly recognizable renditions of the giant squid cited by Ellis date from the late

Ellis observes, the tail fins are wrong (they should be fully connected to the body), the squid is missing an arm and has another that neither begins nor ends in the body, and neither long tentacle is pictured with its grasping club-end (the tentacles instead disappear behind the body).¹¹² However, given how few even partial *Architeuthis* specimens the early modern world had seen – Ellis identifies seven giant squid sightings or strandings before the year 1800 – the accuracy of this woodcut is nothing short of impressive.¹¹³

In the accompanying text, the squid was identified as having been “taken on the East coast of Holland the .xvii. of Nouember, Anno 1566”. Unfortunately, the description did not proffer a size estimate, as many accounts of beached whales were wont to do, and the author instead tempered his account with individuals’ reactions to the “rare or rather most monstrous fishe”:

hauing on his finnes hard skales in forme much like the beggers disshes, which in that Contrie [Holland] they were wont to weare in skoffe & derision, his eies like an owle & mouthed as a Popin gaye [popinjay] his taile reede [red] and fower cornered like to a priestes Cap, which fishe hath bene seene and vewed of most Nobles and Peares of Flaunders, who hath plucked of his skales lyke to disshes and kepes them for a shew.¹¹⁴

Though squid are not scaled, the suckers on their arms and tentacles are round and bowl- or dish-like, which might explain the “skales lyke to disshes” taken home as souvenirs by interested onlookers. Clearly, the squid was considered unusual by its Dutch viewers,

nineteenth century, though images of sea-monsters, -serpents, and other creatures appeared much earlier. Ellis, *The Search for the Giant Squid*, 60-7. In particular, Japetus Steenstrup argues that the “Sea Monk” found in Denmark in 1545 was a giant squid; contemporary illustrations with a modern referent accompany his article. Japetus Steenstrup, “On the Merman (Called the Sea Monk) Caught in the Øresund in the Time of King Christian III”, translated by M. Roeleveld and J. Knudsen, *Steenstrupia* 6, no. 17 (25 November 1980), 293-332, image 321.

¹¹² Richard Ellis to Whitney Dirks-Schuster, personal correspondence, 18 June 2012.

¹¹³ Ellis, *The Search for the Giant Squid*, 257.

¹¹⁴ Anonymous, *The Discription of a Rare or Rather Most Monstrous Fishe*, single sheet.

and between the woodcut and the written description, an English audience could have vicariously experienced this unfamiliar sea creature, as well as appreciated its Divine message of amending one's sins.

Over a century later, on 3 October 1674, another giant squid was “taken at a place called *Dingel Ichough*, in the West of *Ireland*” and subsequently described in a pamphlet complete with woodcut (Figure 20). This “SEA-MONSTER. Or, Wonderful FISH” was “full Nineteen foot” long and “Bigger than an Ox, yet without Legs, Bones, Fins, or Scales; with two Heads, and ten Horns of 10 or 11 foot long, on eight of which Horns there grew knobs about the bigness of a Cloak-button, in shape like Crowns or Coronets, to the number of 100 on each Horn, which were all to open, and had rows of Teeth within them”. The two longest “horns” were “situated in the middle, and were smooth”. The larger head “had no perfect distinct shape; but like a vast lump, wherein nothing plainly appeared but to [*sic*] Eyes of an Oval form and of Extraordinary Bigness”; the smaller “was in shape much like the head of a Hawk, looking upward, and had a strange mouth, and two tongues in it”. The body was “smooth without Scales ... and all over of a flesh-colour, save only a large fleshy skin like a mantle, which was fast to the back, but hung down loose on both sides with a fringe round at bottom; and this was of bright red on the out-side, and perfect white within”. This account featured all of the characteristics of a giant squid which the 1566 broadsheet's description had lacked: size, number of arms and tentacles (here called “Horns”), recognition that the fin appears to constitute one “head” and the beak between the arms another, painstakingly described suckers (the “Crowns or

Coronets”), and even an aptly-termed “mantle” over the body in the color that dead or dying giant squid most commonly demonstrate.¹¹⁵

“A true Draught of this rare Animal, together with one of its heads, and two of its Horns was carried to *Dublin*, the 16 of *December* last; and presented to several persons of Honour, since which time there is leave granted by Authority for the publique shewing thereof; both in *Dublin*, and other places”, a common practice in cases of human monstrosity as well. The text of the pamphlet was based upon “a Letter from a Credible person that was an Eye-witness of that monstrous sight” and was printed in order to “unveil[...] report from the disguises of Fiction, and prevent[...] the obtrusion of Lane imperfect Relations on the too oft abused World”, in particular to counteract the rumor that this “strange Creature with ... more then tripple Crowns” was the “Apocaliptical Beast” itself. Rather, the publisher wished “to present the same plainly and truly to publique view, as a thing real and deservedly Admirable”. In other words, the printed pamphlet was meant to spread the truth of this fantastic event, while no doubt simultaneously earning the publisher a pretty penny, whereas spoken rumors had “so impertinently” blown it out of all proportion. Moreover, the *truth* in this case did not involve any measure of God’s will; rather, the author exhorted that “if we consider how large a share the Sea makes of this inferiour Globe, and that Nature is ever active and wonderfully fruitful, we may not irrationally conclude ... that the vast wilderness of Waters contains as many Monsters ... as any in the Desarts of *Afrique*”.¹¹⁶ This

¹¹⁵ Anonymous, *A True and Perfect Account of the Miraculous Sea-Monster*, title page, 4, 6. Ellis, *The Search for the Giant Squid*, 109.

¹¹⁶ Anonymous, *A True and Perfect Account of the Miraculous Sea-Monster*, 4, 7, 8.

explanation of bounteous and unusual Nature would have been quite at home on the pages of the *Philosophical Transactions* (see Chapter 4).

Even when an animal's anatomy should have been well known, as was the case with beached whales, one's appearance on land where it ought not to have been was sometimes considered a "prodigious accident" worthy of being printed about. A "mighty Sea-monster, or Whale" which was "*cast upon Langar-shore ouer against Harwich in Essex, this present moneth of Februarie 1617*" became the subject of an eyewitness sketch either by the "reuerend and learned Diuine, Minister of *Harwich*" or an acquaintance of his. A woodcut, ostensibly composed from this drawing but actually copied from a 1598 Dutch engraving (Figures 21-22), was included in the pamphlet with the minister's full description of the whale. It was a large male, 56 feet long, with black skin; despite being "very fat" and yielding "much oyle", the minister doubted that the oil would be of any use, as the whale had been dead for days before being tossed ashore, and as a result the carcass "sauoureth ... strongly" of dead fish.¹¹⁷

A less accurate woodcut, though still recognizable as a whale, adorned the pamphlet, *A Moste True and Marueilous Straunge Wonder, the Lyke hath Seldom ben Seene* ... (Figure 23). Clearly an orca, this was one of the ".XVIII. Monstrous fishes, taken" near Ipswich in 1568. The largest "fishe was a mans heyght in thicknes", 27 feet long with "a round snout", 44 large teeth, and the classic black-and-white markings; he was strong enough that when ".x. tall men stood vpppon his tayle, & he lifng his tayle

¹¹⁷ Anonymous, *A True Report and Exact Description of a Mighty Sea-Monster*, title page, 10-11. One of the problems with whaling was the rapidity with which the whale carcasses would decompose, if not immediately flensed of their blubber; Gordon Jackson, *The British Whaling Trade* (Research in Maritime History no. 29, St. John's, Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic History Association, 2005), 26-7.

vp, [he] ouer throe theym all”.¹¹⁸ The focus of this broadside was not specifically on the “fisshes” but rather on the whaling profession and how sixteenth-century Englishmen went about catching them, presumably a topic of interest for a London audience. According to John Appleby, whaling in England “developed as a shore-based operation” in which whales were hunted in bays and harbors, then towed ashore for processing into oil.¹¹⁹ This is more or less the process described in this broadside, though these seventeen whales appear to have been eaten, at least in part, rather than processed wholesale, a practice at which the broadside’s author blanched: “if the men of Ipswyche had knowne so muche betyme whye they were sweete [before the whales decomposed], as they haue sence, they might haue made .ii. C. marcke [200 marks] more of them then is now made. But now they bee barreld vpp to make Oyle of, and will not bee sold for a great peece of monney”.¹²⁰ Gordon Jackson claims that there is no evidence that Europeans ever ate more than whales’ tongues, though the fact that the people of Ipswich ate their whales – which when “bakt tasted lyke red Deere” – would appear to belie this assertion.¹²¹ That this pod of whales was orca also appears noteworthy: according to Appleby, pre-nineteenth-century whaling “was effectively limited to the capture of the Biscayan and Greenland right whales, and the sperm whale”.¹²² Perhaps the failure to

¹¹⁸ Timothy Granger, *A Moste True and Marueilous Straunge Wonder, the Lyke hath Seldom ben Seene ...* (London: [1568]), single sheet.

¹¹⁹ John C. Appleby, “A ‘Voyage to Greenland for the Catching of Whales’: English Whaling Enterprise in the Seventeenth Century”, *International Journal of Maritime History* 9, no. 2 (1997), 29-49, citation 32.

¹²⁰ Granger, *A Moste True and Marueilous Straunge Wonder*, single sheet.

¹²¹ Jackson, *The British Whaling Trade*, 8. Granger, *A Moste True and Marueilous Straunge Wonder*, single sheet.

¹²² Appleby, “A Voyage to Greenland,” 29.

recognize the orca as a species of whale explains why they were eaten rather than immediately rendered for their oil.

Most accounts of dead whales, whether beached under natural circumstances or killed for their oil, did not provide a picture of the creature. Perhaps England's citizens, members of a maritime nation, were expected to be sufficiently familiar with these denizens of the deep who provided the nation with its candles and soap that such illustrations were unnecessary additions to news accounts. However, the description of a "Monstrous Whale, Lately taken near Colechester" suggests that the sight of a whale was every bit as unusual as that of a monstrous human: "Being so rare and strange a sight that multitudes of People from all parts dayly go tosee [*sic*] it as thick as to a Market or Fair".¹²³ Though this pamphlet may have been attempting to sensationalize a relatively common event – which interpretation is supported by the strange and un-whale-like fish gracing the publication's cover (Figure 24) – we can assume that England's coastal inhabitants would have at least been *more* familiar with the general physiology of a whale than that of a given pair of conjoined twins. Whether they would have recognized the woodcut of Colchester's whale as unreliable, however, is less clear, and moreover the woodblock may have originally been cut to decorate a different publication, as the text contains no clues to identify this whale with its purported picture. The illustrations from a different pamphlet – featuring another "strange (and miraculous) Fish [read: whale], cast upon the sands" in Cheshire – were certainly printed from stock woodblocks, as one depicts a storm-tossed ship (the whale described in the pamphlet had beached himself)

¹²³ Anonymous, *Wonders from the Deep or a True and Exact Account and Description of the Monstrous Whale ...* (London: 1677), title page.

and the other a print shop (presumably standing in for the process of rendering blubber into oil) (Figure 25).¹²⁴ Despite the general accuracy of illustrations accompanying accounts of monsters and prodigies, this was clearly not a universal rule.

Early modern cheap print served to transmit news about monsters, including details of their births or appearances on England's beaches, as well as their possible Divine significance: in the period before 1650 in particular, nearly every ballad, broadside, and pamphlet credited God with the creation of monsters, and half of those printed up to 1800 continued to do so. Though it is difficult to quantify individual cases of monstrosity, the approximately 150 cheap titles which featured monsters may have described about 400 cases of anatomical abnormality. When print about conjoined twins is examined quantitatively, several trends appear: female sets were significantly more common than male in the early modern period as today; translated chronicle books tended to describe Continental monsters; and, though they generally contained less detail than cheap print, these books are our only source for information about many twins born before the mid-sixteenth century. Regardless of the amount of detail provided in any given cheap print source, the descriptions of monsters, and their accompanying woodcut illustrations, tended to be fairly accurate, though this was more true in cases of human monstrosity than in portrayals of beached whales. The next chapter continues the theme of consuming monstrous bodies, both in a more specialized form of print (the etching) and in person, at exhibitions (often advertised by printed leaflets) staged at inns and coffeehouses around London. Performing before the monarchs could provide an extra

¹²⁴ M.P., *A Description of a Strange (and Miraculous) Fish, Cast upon the Sands ...* (London: [1690?]), title page.

line of endorsement on these advertising tracts, and monstrous bodies were popular enough that some noble patrons kept dwarfs around as a form of conspicuous consumption. Thus cheap print, artistic etchings, and exhibitions all functioned in tandem to advertise, celebrate, and commemorate the bodies of English monsters.

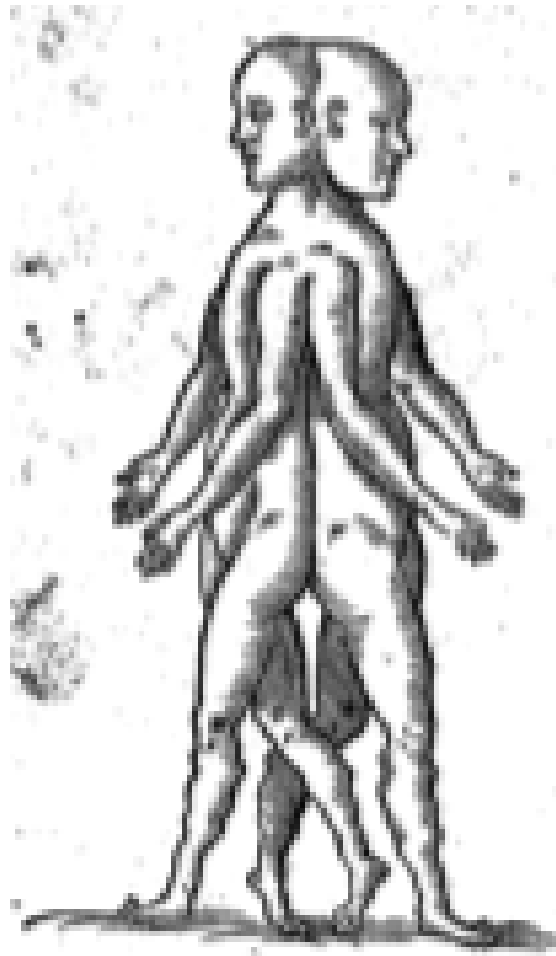


Figure 2 - The Adlington Twins

Female conjoined twins from Adlington, Lancashire born in 1613 and blamed on God's will,

which was showne in the example of this Monster, the father and mother whereof were both branded, shee with the marke of Basterdy ... he of very lewde carriage and conditions: neither was this monster borne in the night time, but towards the day, when the morning Sunne beganne to glad the earth with his brightnesse, to this end, that the blacke mantle of the night should not couer this childe of darkenesse, but that the day might plainely discover to all eyes this wonderfull example of his Justice.

Anonymous, *Strange Newes of a Prodigious Monster, Borne in the Towneship of Adlington* ... ([London]: 1613), title page, B1r.

Table 1

<u>location</u>	<u>date</u>	<u>sex</u>	<u>media</u>
Benna?, Italy	1472	female	book(s)
Verona, Italy	1475	female	book(s)
Rohrbach, near Heidelberg, Germany	1486	hermaphroditic	book(s)
Padua, Italy	1487	not specified	book(s)
Rome, Italy	1493	female	book(s)
"Berheld" near Heidelberg, Germany	1494	not specified	book(s)
Rotweil, Germany	1494	not specified	book(s)
Bürstadt, Germany	1495	female	book(s)
Werdenberg, Switzerland	1498	female	book(s)
Gossau, Switzerland	1503	male	book(s)
Colmar, France	1514	male	book(s)
Hercynian Forest near Kniebis, Germany	1525	male	book(s)
Essling (Vienna), Austria	1529	not specified	book(s)
Gossau, Switzerland	1531	not specified	book(s)
Bad Säckingen, Germany	1534	not specified	book(s)
"not farre from Tygure" [Tägerschen?], Switzerland	1536	male	book(s)
Sarzana, Italy	1540 (or 1514)	male	book(s)
Hesse region, Germany	1540	not specified	book(s)
Freiburg, Germany	1541	not specified	book(s)
Wittenberg, Germany	1542	not specified	book(s)
"Cassehuse" [Cheseaux?], Switzerland	1543	female	book(s)
Reinach, Switzerland	1543	male	book(s)
Milan, Italy	1544	female	book(s)
Heidelberg, Germany	1544	male	book(s)
Aken (Elbe), Germany	1545?	not specified	book(s)
Leuven, Belgium	1546	not specified	book(s)
Paris, France	1546	not specified	book(s)
Rieden, Bavaria, Germany	1550	not specified	book(s)
Middleton Stoney, Oxfordshire, England	1552	female	mixed media

continued

Table 1 continued

Witzenhausen, Germany	1552	male	book(s)
"Herbesleb", Thuringia, Germany	1553	not specified	book(s)
"Zichist", Meissen, Germany	1553	not specified	book(s)
"Freyweg not farre from" Adorf, Vogtlandkreis, Germany	1554?	hermaphroditic	book(s)
Genoa, Italy	1555	hermaphroditic	book(s)
Herne, Kent, England	1565	female	cheap print
Stony Stratford, Buckinghamshire, England	1565	female	cheap print
Swanbourne, Buckinghamshire, England	1566	hermaphroditic	cheap print
Liège, Belgium	before 1567	male	book(s)
Antwerp, Belgium	1567?	female	mixed media
Balen?, Belgium	1567	female	book(s)
Tours?, France	1569	not specified	mixed media
Rue des Gravilliers, Paris, France	1570	hermaphroditic	book(s)
Les Ponts-de-Cé, France	1572	female	book(s)
Taunton, Somerset, England	1576	male	book(s)
Berwick-Upon-Tweed, Northumberland, England	1579	not specified	mixed media
Lützow?, Germany	1579	not specified	mixed media
Portskewett, Monmouthshire, Wales, England	1585	not specified	cheap print
Adlington/Standish, Lancashire, England	1613	female	mixed media
Tower Street, London, England	1625	female	book(s)
Biesheim "near" Strasbourg, Germany	1628	female	mixed media
Bridewell, London, England	1633	male	cheap print
Plymouth, Devon, England	1635	not specified	cheap print
Shoe Lane, London, England	1645	hermaphroditic	cheap print
near Aardenburg, Netherlands	1657	hermaphroditic	periodical
Fisherton Anger, Wiltshire, England	1664	female	cheap print
Venice?, Italy	1669/70	female	Philosophical Transactions
Plymouth, Devon, England	1670	female	Philosophical Transactions
Petworth, West Sussex, England	1677	female	Philosophical Transactions
Isle Brewers, Somerset, England	1680	female	cheap print
Exeter, Devon, England	1682	male	mixed media
Ostend in Flanders, Belgium	1682	female	mixed media
County Meath, Ireland	1684/5	male	cheap print
Westminster, London, England	1687	male	cheap print

continued

Table 1 continued

Born?, Netherlands	1699?	female	Philosophical Transactions
Phillipstown, Caerphilly, Wales	1699	female	cheap print
Újszöny, Hungary	1701	female	mixed media
Hitchin, Hertfordshire, England	1706	female	mixed media
Londonderry, Derry, Ireland	1706	hermaphroditic	Philosophical Transactions
Cremona, Italy, England	c. 1718	male	Philosophical Transactions
Domrémy-la-Pucelle, France	1722	female	Philosophical Transactions
Rouen, France	1735?	not specified	Philosophical Transactions
Suffolk, England	1736	hermaphroditic	cheap print
Holborn, London, England	1748	female	Philosophical Transactions
Manchester, Greater Manchester, England	1752	female	Philosophical Transactions
Oxford Street, Westminster, England	c. 1774-81	male	Philosophical Transactions
Daventry, Northamptonshire, England	1780?	not specified	cheap print

2

Table 1 - European Conjoined Twins 1472-1780

The details of 76 separate cases of conjoined twins, born in Western Europe between 1472 and *c.* 1780 and recorded in English print. These births have been differentiated based upon physical descriptions, birth date, and birth place. Included in this analysis are cases of parasitic twinning, as well as conjoined twins described in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London and the “Collection of 77 Advertisements Relating to Dwarfs, Giants, and Other Monsters and Curiosities Exhibited for Public Inspection” (BL N.Tab.2026/25). An additional three sets of conjoined twins born in British India in the late eighteenth century were described in the *Philosophical Transactions* but are not included in this table. This data can also be viewed geographically in Figures 3-4.

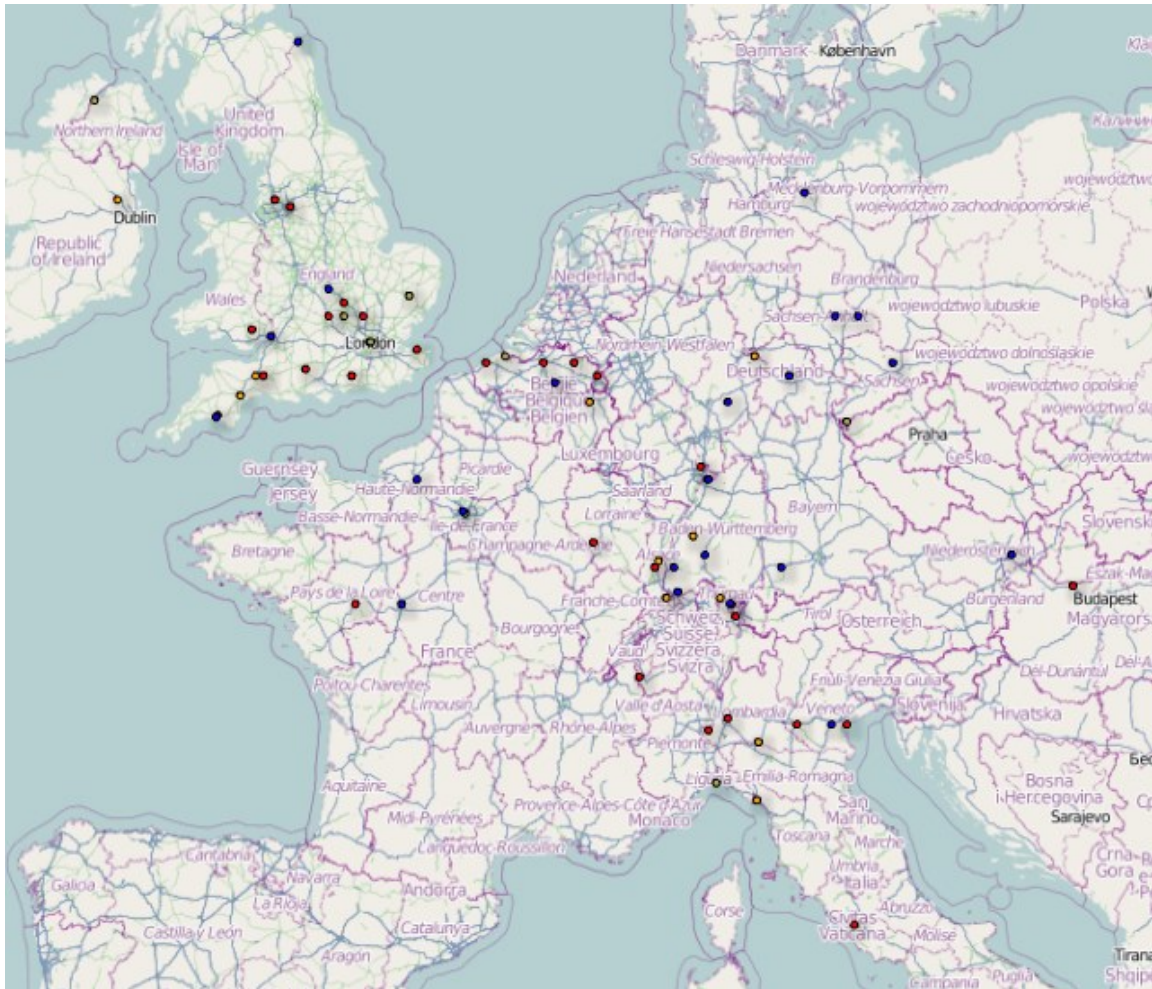


Figure 3 - Conjoined Twins by Sex

Red circles are female twins, orange indicate males, green circles are for twins described as hermaphroditic or with one twin of each sex, and blue circles show those twins for whom no sex was given in the source; this last category is overwhelmingly Continental. This data can be interacted with at <http://www.openheatmap.com/view.html?map=HesperornithiformessGormandizersAmaister>.

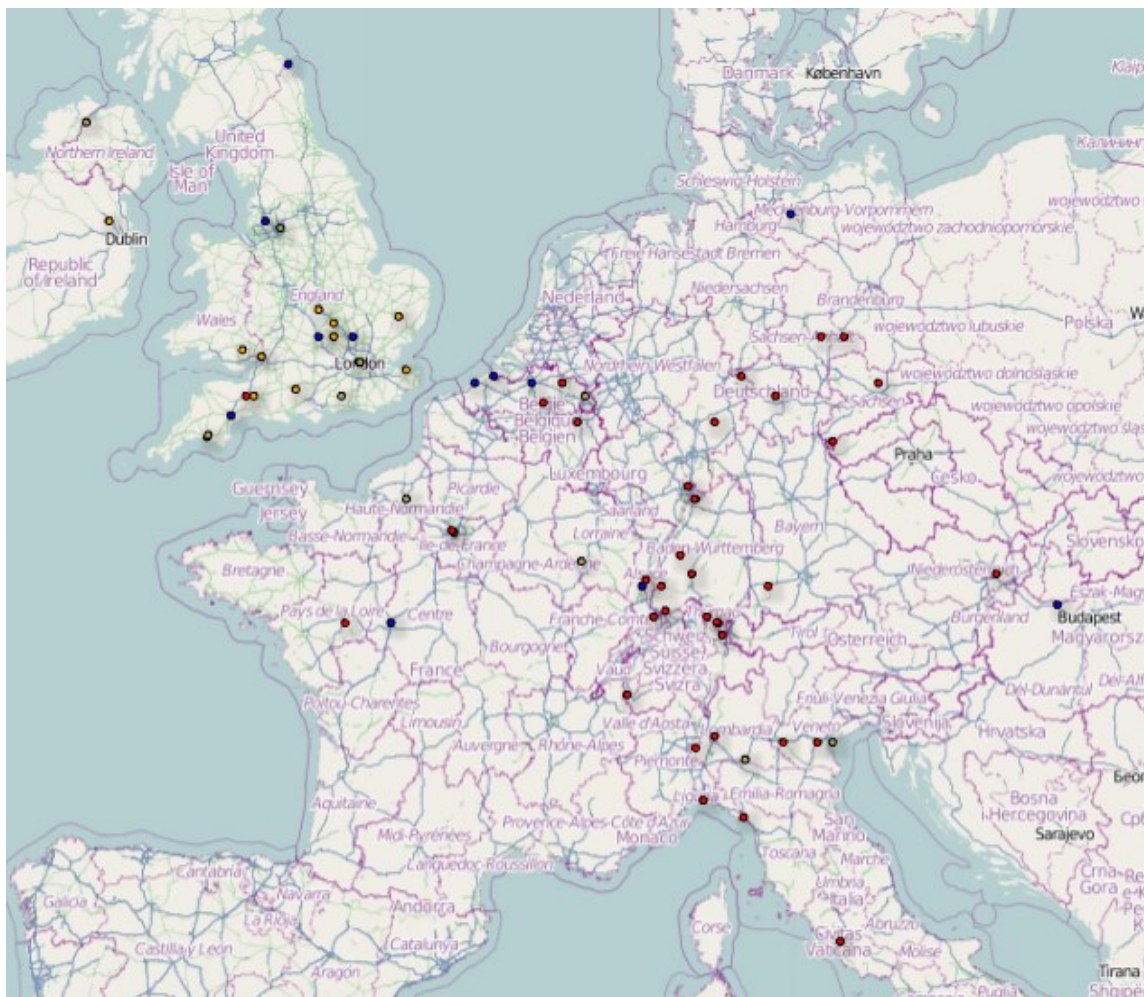


Figure 4 - Conjoined Twins by Print Type

Orange circles indicate conjoined births described in cheap print, red is for books, green indicates the *Philosophical Transactions*, and blue is for births described in more than one medium. Those twins only described in books were nearly all born on the Continent, and cheap print is clearly more common in Britain. Almost all of the Continental births which have been described in British print come from Protestant countries or regions bordering upon them. This data can be interacted with at <http://www.openheatmap.com/view.html?map=WandyImperializationHumdrumminess>.

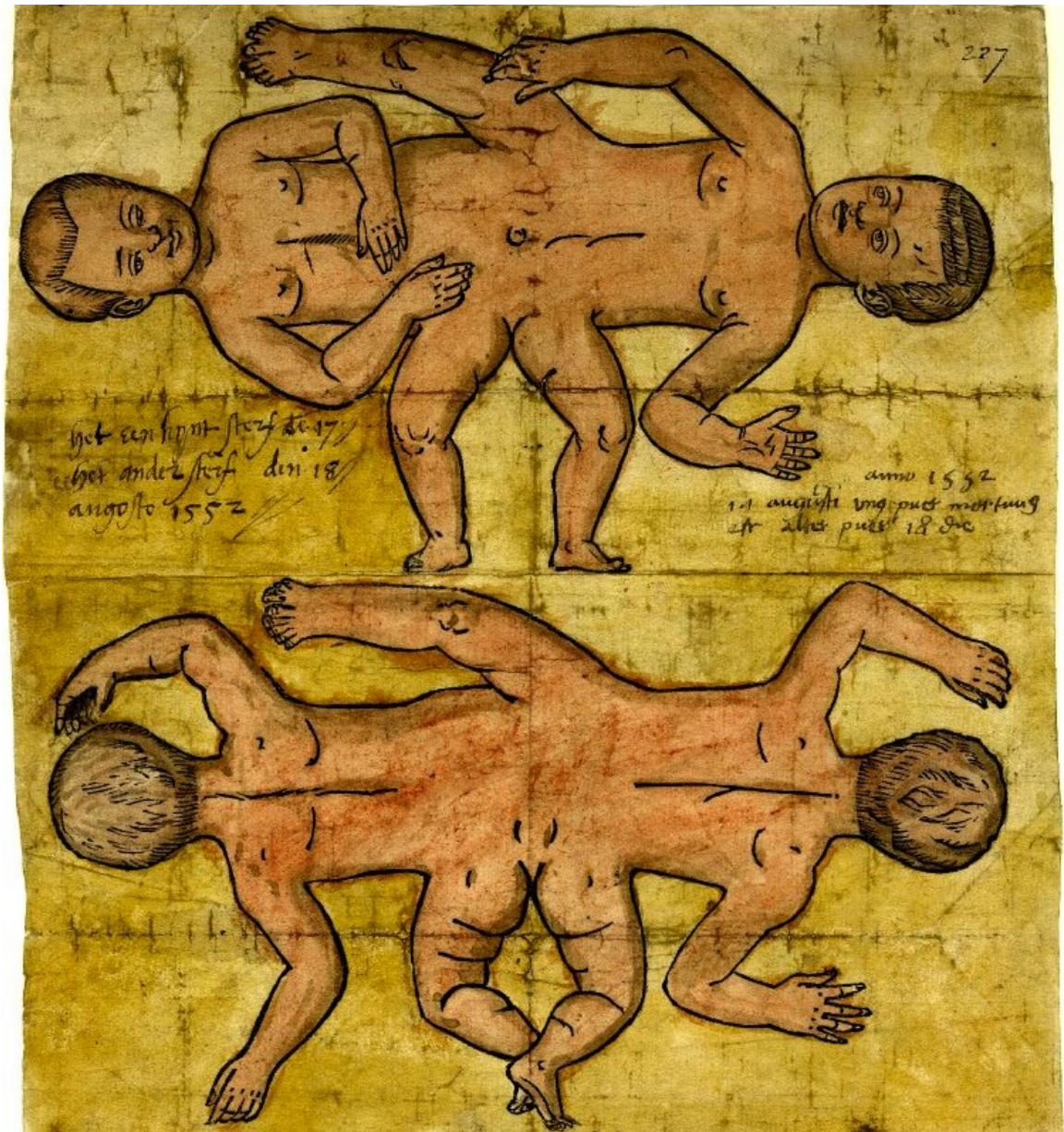


Figure 5 - The Middleton Stoney Twins 1

The original portrayal of the Middleton Stoney twins. Note the handwritten notes accompanying the printed drawing. Anonymous, *Thou Shalte Understande* (Chrysten Reader), single sheet.



Figure 6 - A Woodcut Similar to Those of the Middleton Stoney Twins

Supposedly, a woodcut *not* depicting the Middleton Stoney twins. However, as the infants' anatomy is so recognizable and the publisher of *The Workes of that Famous Chirurgion* reused woodcuts elsewhere in the book, thus cutting down on publication costs, I find it likely that this block was originally cut as a depiction of the Middleton Stoney children. However, as it does not match any of the extant publications, this could imply that either "Th: Cotes" or "R. Young", the printers, produced an earlier, lost account of the twins; alternately, either man could have purchased or inherited the block itself from another printer, a not uncommon occurrence. Paré, *The Workes of that Famous Chirurgion*, title page, 970.

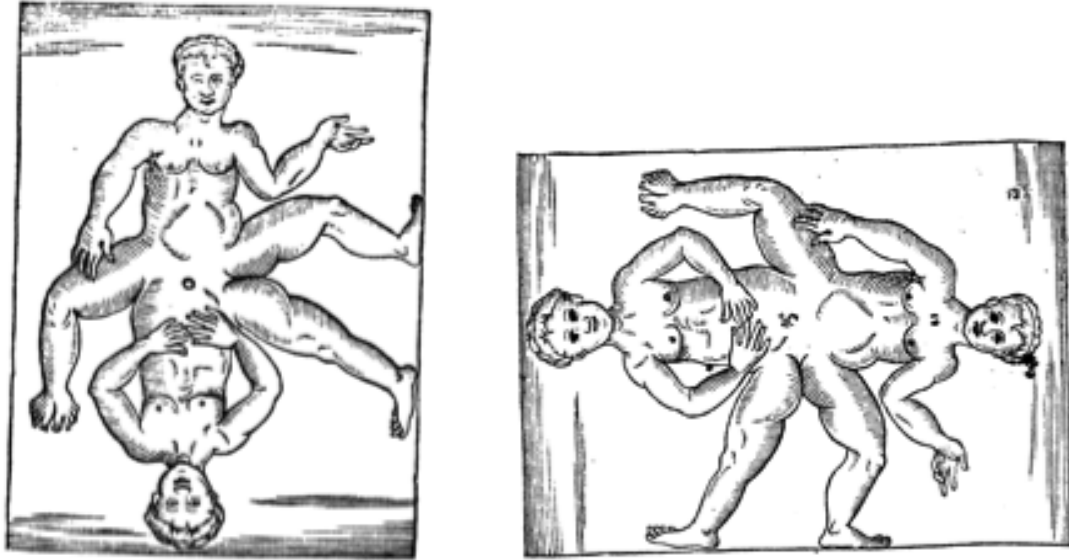


Figure 7 - The Middleton Stoney Twins 2

On left, the Middleton Stoney twins woodcut from Boaistuau and on right, the same block was rotated ninety degrees clockwise to print Lycosthenes.¹²⁵ As the ESTC records no other editions of these books printed by Bynneman or any other publisher, the block likely sat unused between 1569 and 1581; this assumption can be corroborated by the fact that the later imprint is just as clear as the earlier, indicating that the block had not seen hard use. Boaistuau, *Certaine Secrete Wonders of Nature*, 141. Lycosthenes, *The Doome Warning*, 358.

¹²⁵ Bynneman also re-used other woodcuts: see for example Boaistuau, *Certaine Secrete Wonders of Nature*, 123v and Lycosthenes, *The Doome Warning*, 278.



Figure 8 - The Middleton Stoney Twins 3

The Middleton Stoney twins, in the same configuration as the original 1552 broadside, Boaistuau, and Lycosthenes and looking very similar to Figure 6. Rueff, *The Expert Midwife*, 152.



Figure 9 - The Middleton Stoney Twins 4

Inserted into the Folger's copy of *The Strange Monster or, True News from Nottingham-Shire*, this woodcut is a mirror-image to either the John Day or Henry Bynneman prints, implying that the artist cut the block as a copy of one of the earlier prints, rather than from the negative-image woodblocks themselves. Anonymous, *The Strange Monster or, True News from Nottingham-Shire*, opposite 5. Cut out of Lycosthenes, *Prodigiorm ac Otentovum Chronicon*, 619.

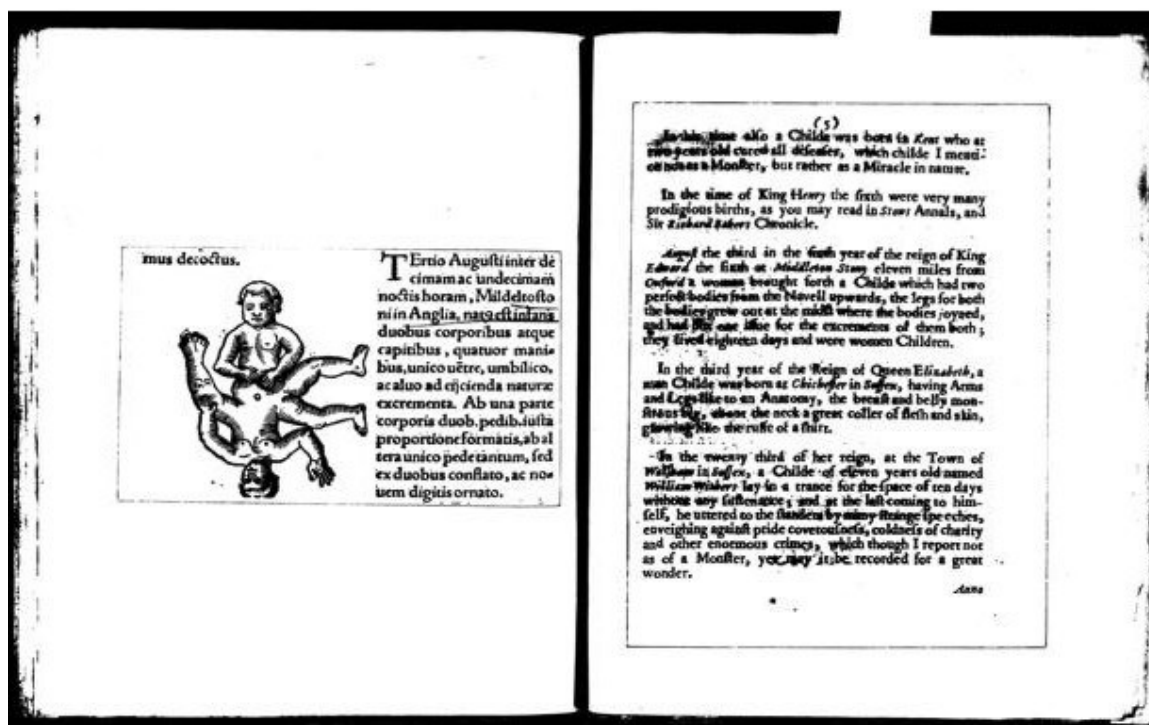


Figure 10 - The Middleton Stoney Twins 5

The Latin account of the Middleton Stoney twins, pictured in context opposite the pamphlet's English entry ("August the third..."). Anonymous, *The Strange Monster or, True News from Nottingham-Shire*, opposite 5. Cut out of Lycosthenes, *Prodigiorym ac Otentovum Chronicon*, 619.

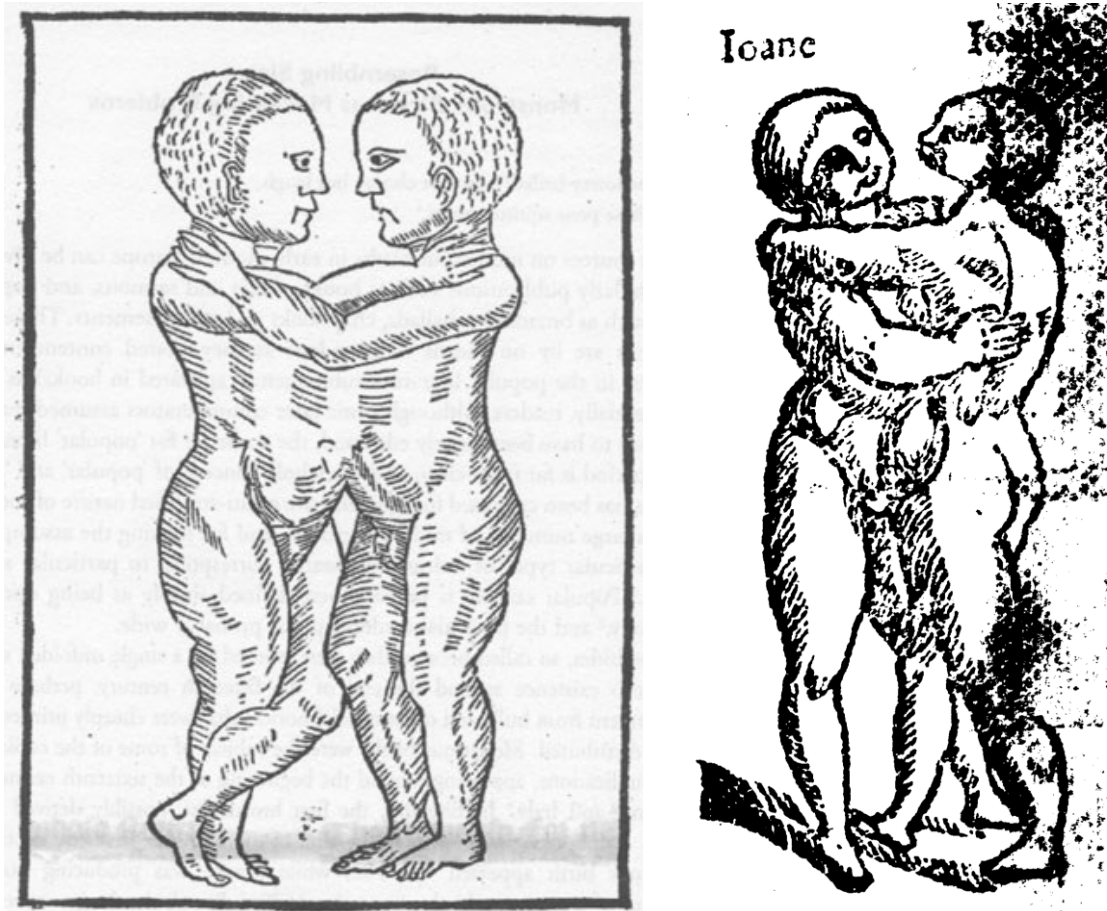


Figure 11 - Opposite-Sex Conjoined Twins

Female-male conjoined twins Joan and John Steuens (left) were pictured as embracing, as were a different pair of (possibly) opposite-sex conjoined twins “Ioane” and “Ioa[...]” (right). The only surviving copy of *A Right Strange and Woonderful Example of the Handie VVorke of a Mightie God* (right) is badly discolored and imperfect, consisting only of the title page; as such, it is impossible to determine whether this pair of twins were also male-female. Mellys, *The True Description of Two Monsterous Children*, single page. Anonymous, *A Right Strange and Woonderful Example of the Handie VVorke of a Mightie God ... of the Birth of Three Children, Borne in the Parish of Paskewet ...* (London: 1585) imperfect, title page only.



Figure 12 - The Rabbit-Faced Girl

The female monster born at Ottringham, Yorkshire, with the face of a rabbit. She was born two days after her properly formed twin sister. Duncalfe, *Most Certain Report of a Monster*, A1r, A3r-v.



Figure 13 - The Plymouth Conjoined Twins

A single woodcut of the Plymouth conjoined twins. A reader added the pupils to the copy held by the Folger Shakespeare Library (STC 1791.3, left); the original appearance of the woodcut can be seen in the Huntington Library's copy (STC 1791, right). Bedford, *A Trve and Certaine Relation of a Strange-Birth*, opposite 1.



Figure 14 - A Macerated Infant

A well-executed and anatomically accurate woodcut of a dead male child macerated *in utero*. John D., *A Discription of a Monstrous Chylde, Borne at Chycester in Sussex*, single page.

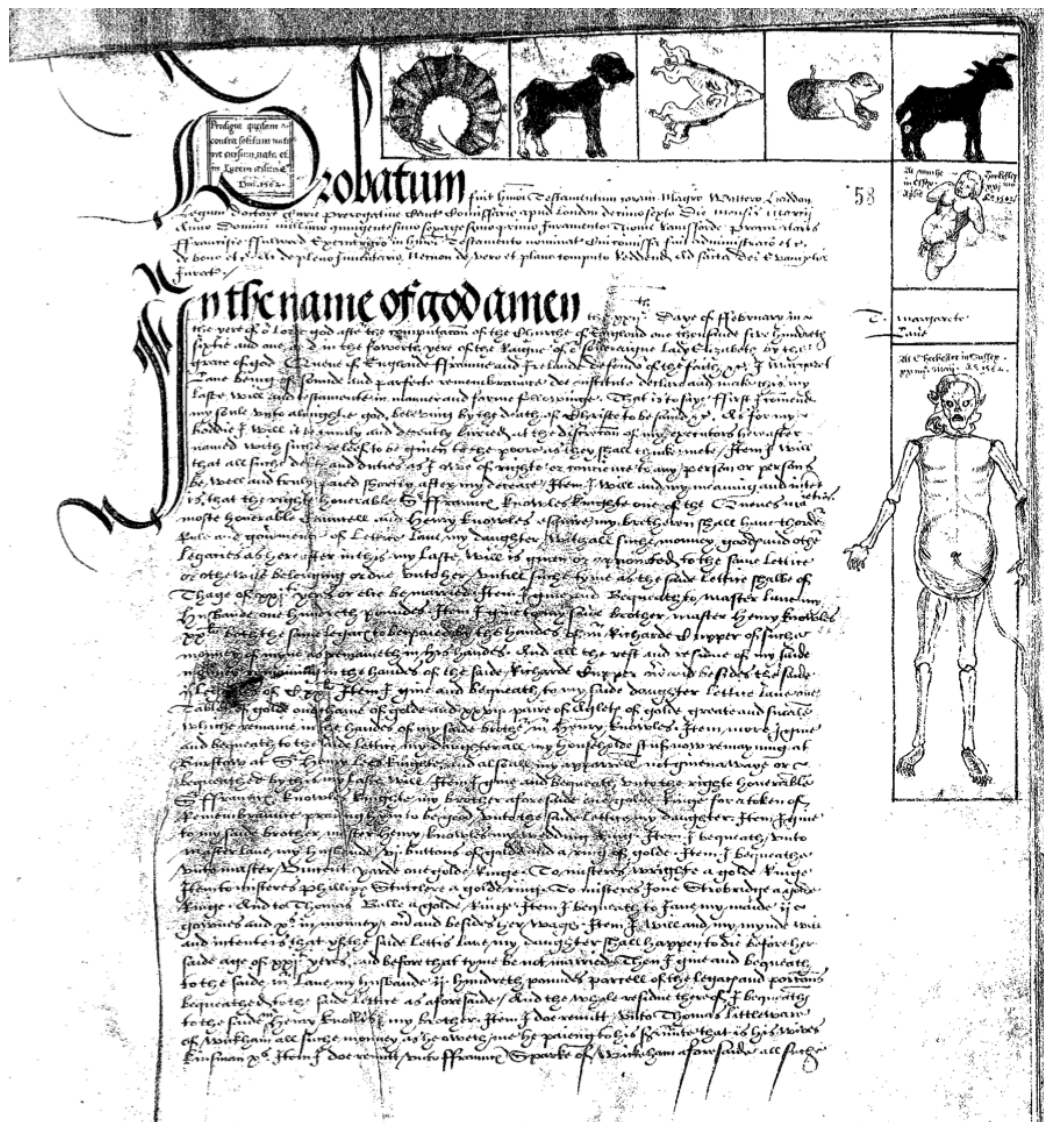


Figure 15 - The Decorated Will of John Fulwood

The probated will of John Fulwood decorated with sketches of monsters born and mentioned in print in the previous year; the decorations must have been added after the fact, as Fulwood's probate notice is dated 16 March 1561/2 and the Chichester infant (bottom right) was not born until late in May 1562. To David Cressy's knowledge, these illustrations are unique within testamentary records. TNA PROB 11/45/76, 58r. Private Correspondence with David Cressy (Distinguished Professor Emeritus, The Ohio State University), 4/4/13.

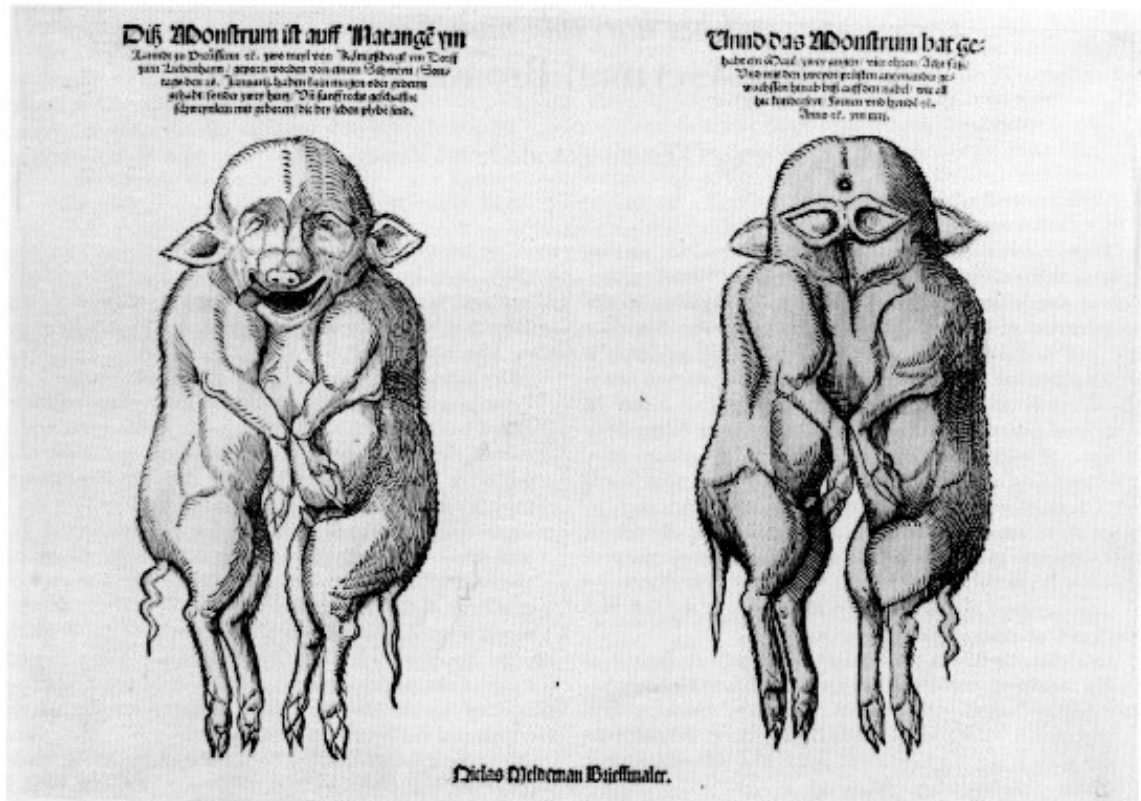


Figure 16 - German Conjoined Piglets 1

The original German conjoined piglets broadsheet, hand-colored (though reproduced here in black-and-white), as printed in Nuremberg in 1531. Anonymous, *This Horrible Monster is Cast of a Sowe*, single sheet. Reproduced in O'Connell and Paisey, "This Horrible Monster", 58.



Figure 17 - German Conjoined Piglets 2

The same woodcut, featuring bilingual text and English ornament blocks. The German imprint was trimmed from the bottom of the sheet, also cutting off the tips of the piglets' back feet. Anonymous, *This Horryble Monster is Cast of a Sowe*, single sheet. British Museum, 1928,0310.96.



Figure 18 - German Conjoined Piglets 3

The same woodcut, now with the German text trimmed off. Anonymous, *This Horrible Monster is Cast of a Sowe*, single sheet. British Library, General Reference Collection C.18.e.2.(119).

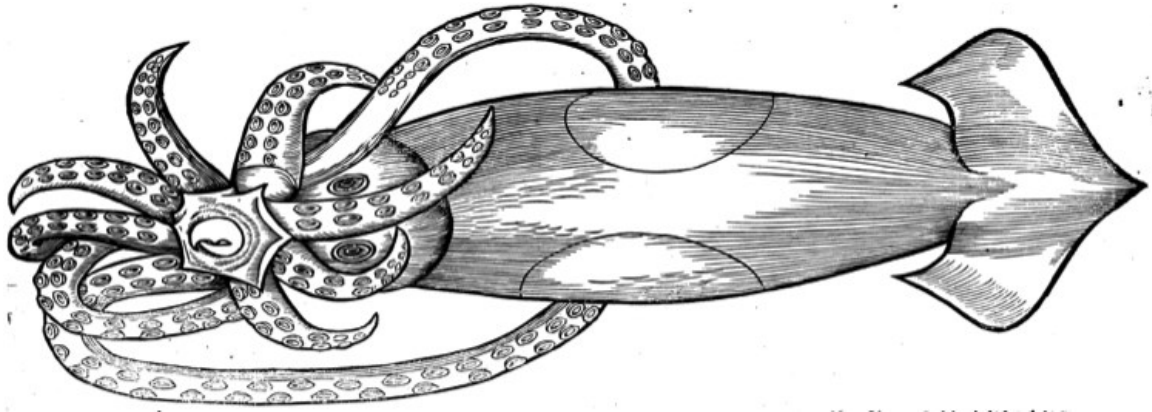


Figure 19 - A Giant Squid

This woodcut quite clearly depicts a giant squid, an animal which modern marine biologists have trouble catching in such good condition. Anonymous, *The Discription of a Rare or Rather Most Monstrous Fishe*, single sheet.



Figure 20 - Another Giant Squid

The Irish giant squid, “cut according to a Draught thereof send from *Ireland* ... being straightned for room in this Quarto Page, we were forced to contract the body, and represent it something shorter than it ought to be, that there be more space for seting out plainly the Heads and Horns, which seem more Rare and Remarkable”. Certainly, the arms and tentacles are shorter than one would expect to see in a squid, which makes this description credible. Anonymous, *A True and Perfect Account of the Miraculous Sea-Monster*, cover page, quotation 2.



Figure 21 - A Monstrous Whale 1

A clearly recognizable sperm whale with its small flippers and teeth in the lower jaw only, as well as its described coloration and size, *in situ* on the beach where it washed ashore.¹²⁶ Anonymous, *A True Report and Exact Description of a Mighty Sea-Monster*, title page, 11.

¹²⁶ Jackson, *The British Whaling Trade*, 41-2.



Figure 22 - A Monstrous Whale 2

A Dutch etching of a beached sperm whale, from which the woodcut accompanying *A True Report and Exact Description of a Mighty Sea-Monster, or Whale* (Figure 21) was copied. Simon Schama claims that, in the Netherlands, whales beaching themselves could be considered as “an exceptional and ominous” portent or omen of disaster. Reproduced in Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, 130-44.

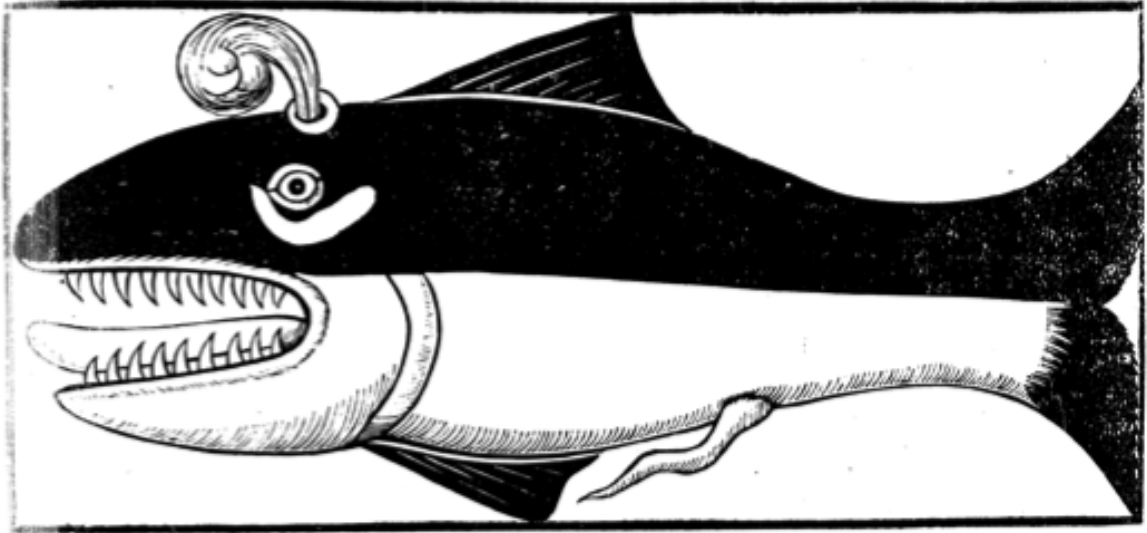


Figure 23 - A Monstrous Whale 3

An orca whale, recognizable by its coloration, though the tail should have been portrayed horizontally. Granger, *A Moste True and Marueilous Straunge Wonder*, single sheet.

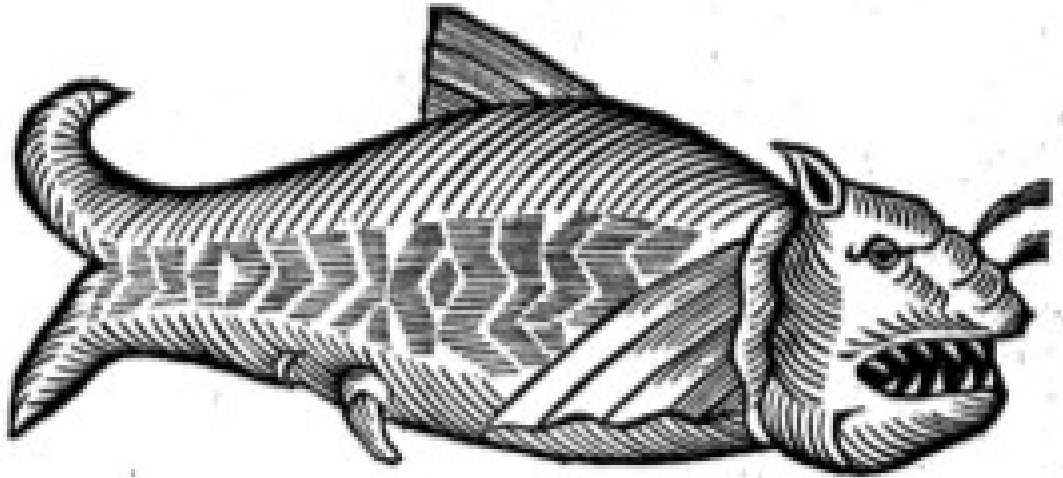


Figure 24 - A Monstrous Whale 4

The supposed whale taken near Colchester in 1677. Anonymous, *Wonders from the Deep*, title page.



Figure 25 - Co-Opted Woodblocks

Inappropriate and clearly co-opted woodblocks used to illustrate a ballad about a whale who beached himself in Cheshire. M. P., *A Description of a Strange (and Miraculous) Fish*, 2.

Chapter 2: Visible Knowledge: Coffeehouse Shows, Pig-Faced Ladies, and Courtly Portraiture

By His Majesty's Authority. At the Sign of *Charing-Cross*, at *Charing-Cross*. There is to be seen a strange and monstrous Child, with one Body, and one Belly, and yet otherwise it hath all the Proportions of two Children, that is two Heads, two Noses, two Mouths, four Eyes, four Ears, four Arms, and four Leggs, four Hands, and four Feet, the monster is of the femal [*sic*] kind, it was born at Fillips Town on the Twenty Ninth of April, 1699[.] The Father of this monster is present where it is to be seen.¹²⁷

This advertising leaflet demonstrates an important role of monsters in early modern London: entertainment. For a fee, curious observers could look, touch, and ask questions; private showings, naturally at a higher price, could also be arranged for the upper classes. On show in fairs, coffee houses, and inns, these highly visible monsters fed into Londoners' curiosity about the strange works of God and Nature. For those audience members who wanted to preserve their memories of abnormal births, decorate the walls of their houses, or even collect monstrosities for themselves, printers began producing etchings of monstrous individuals. Often sporting high quality images and sometimes hand-colored, these art prints were readily available to consumers of any class, though they were generally more expensive than the small-format cheap print discussed in Chapter 1.¹²⁸ Beyond these explicitly public venues for monstrous

¹²⁷ British Library, N.Tab.2026/25, tract 16. A Collection of 77 Advertisements Relating to Dwarfs, Giants, and Other Monsters and Curiosities Exhibited for Public Inspection.

¹²⁸ In 1587, the fee for licensing a single-sheet print with the Stationers' Company jumped from the standard of 4*d.* to the same as that for a book, which would have raised the sale price beyond that for single-page ballads and broadsides. Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, 4.

anatomies, a very small number of monsters, those few fortunate or well-connected enough to have acquired noble patrons, could be seen at the houses of the aristocracy, at Court, or in the retinues of monarchs as they went on Progress or otherwise toured the countryside outside of London. Particularly popular were dwarfs who sometimes acted the role of the traditional court jester and occasionally even appeared in courtly portraits painted by some of the Renaissance masters – one of which was reproduced as an etching, though it was only mistakenly marketed as being the likeness of a dwarf – making the connection between monstrous body and monstrous representation explicit. Thus, through exhibitions, art prints, and in the company of their noble patrons, England’s monsters were visible to the public eye.

Advertisements for the public exhibition of monsters were generally printed quickly and cheaply and contained a short description of the monster’s anatomy, as well as often declaring where the show would take place. The British Library holds a collection of these advertising tracts compiled between about 1680 and 1740 by an unknown collector who could conceivably have been Sir Hans Sloane.¹²⁹ The collection consists mainly of printed advertisements to see monsters in London (65 out of 78 tracts), including ten images of unusual individuals (plus a reused woodcut which has nothing in common with the text it illustrates) and a single manuscript advertisement in an unknown

¹²⁹ BL N.Tab.2026/25. This shelfmark is from Sloane’s collection, though that does not definitively identify him as its compiler. Presumably, Antony Griffiths identified Sloane as the compiler based upon this provenance, but Griffiths does not cite his source for this assertion. Henry Morley likewise posited Sloane as the collection’s compiler. Tract 34 contains the handwritten note “I Saw it Sep. 4. 1677”, which, if compared to known samples of his handwriting, could be used to identify or disprove Sloane as the compiler. Antony Griffiths with Robert A. Gerard, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 279. Henry Morley, *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1880. Reprinted Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1968), 245.

hand.¹³⁰ The collection also includes two broadsheets and three pamphlets describing monstrous births; one page each out of a periodical, a book, and a piece of unidentifiable printed media; an etching of the Hungarian conjoined twins Helen and Judith (see Chapter 4 below); and an advertisement to view corpses embalmed by a new technique developed by William Wilkins.¹³¹

Though the existence of such a collection does not conclusively prove that its compiler actually viewed this set of monsters himself, it seems likely that he might have kept such ephemera because he did indeed attend such shows. At the very least, though, this collection demonstrates the variety in monsters, venues, and advertising techniques which would have been familiar to a late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century London audience. Although the majority of this collection is concerned with monsters, a few other oddities appear as well. Most out of place, and perhaps accidentally preserved, is an advertisement for “the Best Superfine *Spanish* Black Cloth ... and Fine Double Threaded Cottons for Sheeting”. As this piece begins with the familiar title “*Advertisement*”, which appears on many tracts advertising monster shows, and ends with similar location information – “At Mr. *Westmacot*’s, at the *Queen’s-Head*, a Tobacconist, over against *Northumberland-House*, at *Charing-Cross*” – this tract could conceivably have made its way into the wrong pile of papers in the compiler’s house.¹³² Regardless of this odd-piece-out, the collection’s compiler clearly thought that the advertising

¹³⁰ Unfortunately, the collection is missing Tract 14 and was photographed after the page disappeared, and so my count may be slightly off from the original collection. The back of Tract 23 was used as scrap paper for mathematical calculations. The tracts are actually numbered 1-79, and it is unclear to which leaflets the count of “77” in the title refers. My calculations will be based on the 78 extant tracts. Of these, 65 or 83% are advertisements to see monsters in London. BL N.Tab.2026/25.

¹³¹ BL N.Tab.2026/25, tracts 1, 20, 21, 22, 29, 30, 46, 76, 77, 78.

¹³² BL N.Tab.2026/25, tract 13.

leaflets, pamphlets, and other accounts of monstrosity had enough in common to preserve them together.

The majority (55 out of 78) of the leaflets in the collection contain location data to situate them within London, giving us a glimpse into the neighborhoods where monsters could most often be seen by the public (Figure 26), with concentrations at Charing Cross, Bartholomew Fair (often advertised as present during fair time), and along Fleet Street and the Strand. Two of these addresses were added by hand after the advertisements were printed (Figure 27); blank lines were left on an additional three leaflets, but addresses were never added to them (Figure 28); and a further three tracts simply claimed that a curiosity would soon be on display “in this place”, implying that passers-by should remember to return to the location where they were handed a leaflet.¹³³ This suggests that anatomically unusual persons were moved around London by their handlers often enough that writing in a location might have been easier, or at least cheaper, than printing new advertising bills. Indeed, temporarily hanging over the door of the King’s Head in Charing Cross was an eye-catching and easily moveable advertisement in the form of “a Paper Lantern ... with these Words upon it, The Hermaphrodite is to be seen here without a Moments loss of Time”.¹³⁴ Letting the audience know where to find the advertised monsters was clearly a priority for such shows.

¹³³ Tracts 40 and 64 include these manuscript additions. Tracts 4, 66, and 67 left a blank for a location which was never filled in. Tract 29 describes the “English Sampson”, the strongman William Joyce, who performed before King William III at Kensington Palace, but no location is mentioned where the public could see him. Tract 48 says a monster will be “here”, tract 74 advertises one “now to be seen in this Place”, and tract 65 discusses one “newly come to this place”. BL N.Tab.2026/25.

¹³⁴ BL N.Tab.2026/25, tracts 11-12, 54, 60.

Advertised prices for the shows varied from 3*d.* to half a crown, though only eight of the tracts contain any pricing information at all. One advertisement doubled the cost for “*the best Places*” (from sixpence to a shilling) and another left the price to the “Generosity” of “any Gentlemen or Ladies [who] are desirous to see the above surprising little Man at their Houses”.¹³⁵ Both the general price range and the lack of set pricing for more well-to-do audience members correspond rather closely to the moneys given to the parents of conjoined twins in rural Somerset (see Chapter 3). Singular among these tracts is that advertising “An hermaphrodite (Lately brought over from Angola)” at the sizeable price of half a crown per head (as much as a new pair of shoes). Not only was the cost to view this individual prohibitive, but the advertisement was printed in both English and Latin, with the vernacular focusing on the hermaphrodite’s general exterior appearance and the Latin providing extensive details about the genital configuration. Thus while the English description simply asserted that the genitals were “so perfect in each Sex, that ‘tis hard for the Curious Examiner to distinguish which has the Superiority”, the Latin clarified that the hermaphrodite had an imperforate penis but no clitoris and a bifurcated scrotum.¹³⁶ Though the show was open to the public, this particular monster was clearly being advertised to a well-to-do and scholarly audience.

¹³⁵ BL N.Tab.2026/25, tracts 9, 11, 12, 15, 24, 25, 44, 60. Richard Altick claims a very similar range in admission prices, between a penny and half a crown, with an average price perhaps around a shilling; prices to see the same monster were generally lower at a fair than at a more private venue. Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, MA and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978), 34.

¹³⁶ “Loco ejus *Penis* imperforatus cum *Urethra*, et *Corporibus Nervosis* (nisi fortan Is *Clitoris* dici debeat) ... *Scrotis* duobus cutaneis parum corrugatis”. BL N.Tab.2026/25, tract 15. Clark, “The Long March of History,” 97-135. Clark, “The Condition of the Working-Class,” 1307-1340. Gregory Clark, “The Price History of English Agriculture,” 41-124.

In addition to locating the London neighborhoods in which monsters could be seen, it is also possible to identify the types of establishment that would host such shows, ranging from inns and coffeehouses to fairs and even barbershops.¹³⁷ Steve Pincus claims that Restoration coffeehouses “appear to have welcomed everyone regardless of gender, social status, or political outlook”. This would have made them an ideal location for the exhibition of monsters, perhaps even better than pubs, as the coffeehouses “celebrated sober discourse rather than inebriated play, cultural exchange rather than social status”. Moreover, coffeehouses “specialized in the circulation of news”, and what better way to learn the news about a monstrous birth than from the monster’s own mouth?¹³⁸ Brian Cowan argues that coffeehouses thus participated in “the commercialization of virtuoso culture”, making collections of rarities like the famed curiosity cabinets of England and the Continent available to a wide range of British consumers.¹³⁹ From the advertisements, it is clear that monsters could be seen variously at Moncress’s Coffeehouse in Threadneedle Street near the Exchange and at both the Charing Cross and Young Man’s Coffeehouses at Charing Cross.¹⁴⁰

Richard Altick agrees that fairs, taverns, and coffeehouses competed with one another to obtain curious objects and individuals to draw additional custom to their

¹³⁷ Brian Cowan argues that “the closest forerunner to the coffeeshop or the bagnio in early modern Britain was not the alehouse, but rather the barbershop ... The early tobacconists’ shops also provided a similar setting and services”. Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 120-1.

¹³⁸ Steve Pincus, “ ‘Coffee Politicians Does Create’: Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture”, *The Journal of Modern History* 67.4 (December 1995), 807-34; quotations 814, 815, 818.

¹³⁹ Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, 114; see also pages 120-32.

¹⁴⁰ BL N.Tab.2026/25, tracts 3, 9, 44.

establishments.¹⁴¹ In terms of public houses, the advertising tracts mention the Hart's Horns Inn in West Smithfield; the Ram's Head Inn in Fenchurch Street; the Brandy Shop, presumably a specialty purveyor of alcohol, at Stocks Market; and the Rummer, the Mitre and Rummer, and the Two Blue Posts and Rummer, all three of which can be identified as pubs by the alcoholic drink glass (the "rummer") in their names.¹⁴² Exhibitions located at London fairs are also recognizable: "In Bartholomew FAIR, *At the Corner of Hosier-lane, and near Mr. Parker's Booth*"; "the lower end of *Brookfield Market*, near the Market-House"; "*at the Booth in Lincolns-Inn-Fields*"; "*Coming into May Fair, the first Booth on the Left Hand, over against Mr. Pinckemans Booth*"; *During the usual time of the Fair*"; "NEAR *Hide-Park Corner*, during the Time of *May Fair*, near the Sheep-pens over against Mr. *Penkethman's Booth*".¹⁴³ Mr. Parker's and Mr. Pinckeman or Penkethman's booths, whatever they may have been selling, appear to have been persistent and recognizable landmarks at their respective fairs. A few more unusual establishments likewise hosted monster shows: a saddler's shop, a lottery office (unless this was actually the name of a coffeehouse or inn), "at Mr. *William Bartons* a Miliner", and "at Mr. Francis Struts, Perfumer, at the Civet-Cat".¹⁴⁴

However, the remaining businesses referred to themselves only in terms of the signs which hung over their doors, and while they likely fit into one of the above categories, their ambiguous names make it impossible to calculate the relative frequency with which monsters may have appeared at coffeehouses, pubs, fairs, and elsewhere.

¹⁴¹ Altick, *The Shows of London*, 17.

¹⁴² BL N.Tab.2026/25, tracts 31, 42, 49, 52, 56, 61, 63.

¹⁴³ BL N.Tab.2026/25, tracts 10, 11, 12, 37, 38, 39, 54.

¹⁴⁴ BL N.Tab.2026/25, tracts 17, 51, 69, 75.

These businesses include the Blue Boar's Head or the Blue Boar and Green Tree (which might even refer to the same business, as both were located in Fleet Street); the King's Head (one each by the Maypole in the Strand and at Charing Cross); the Golden Ball, Golden Lion, and Golden Cross; the Mermaid; the Sign of the Prince and Princess of Orange; and others.¹⁴⁵ These locations could have easily been found by anyone who knew his way around London – perhaps especially the Blue Boar and Green Tree, sitting as it was “next Door [to] where the great Elephant is to be seen” – but the precise nature of these businesses is unclear.¹⁴⁶

In addition to the locations of monstrous exhibitions, this collection can also reveal the period during which the advertising tracts were produced and provide at least a glimpse at the print shops producing them. More than a third of the collection, 31 or 40%, included the British Royal Arms at the top of the sheet, an indication that the printer possessed a Royal Warrant for providing goods or services to the Crown. Of this number, nearly half of the Warrant print blocks, 15 or 19% of the total advertisements, featured the regnal initials of the monarch(s) under whom the tract was printed.¹⁴⁷ From this, the collection can be positively dated to the period from the 1680s to at least the 1730s, during the reigns of King James II through King George II.¹⁴⁸ Of the Warrant

¹⁴⁵ BL N.Tab.2026/25, tracts 2, 4, 5, 7, 15, 24, 25, 33, 55, 60.

¹⁴⁶ BL N.Tab.2026/25, tract 55.

¹⁴⁷ i.e. “J² R” for James II or “WWMM RR” for William and Mary.

¹⁴⁸ One advertisement was printed under James II (r. 1685-8), two under William and Mary, four under William only (presumably after Mary's death), three under Anne, four under George I, and one under George II (r. 1727-60) which specifically dates from 1736 (Tract 42). The British Library's catalogue entry is much less specific, giving the probable compilation dates as “1680?-1700?”. Two advertisements additionally refer to the maypole in the Strand, presumably either that which was erected in 1661 or the one which replaced it in 1713 (Tracts 5 and 41). Tracts 30 and 1 are pamphlets printed in 1674 and 1682 respectively, which may suggest that the collection's start date be pushed back to the 1670s, though pamphlets were not always sold immediately upon printing and could also often be purchased second-hand,

holders, 24 distinct printing blocks featuring the Royal Arms can be discerned, though as some print shops would have owned multiple Warrant blocks and those blocks featuring the monarchs' initials would have become obsolete at the end of each reign, this does not allow identification of an exact number of printers who produced these monstrous advertisements. (See Figures 29-30 for an extended discussion of a few specific Warrant blocks.) However, it is clear that such tracts were printed in quite a few different shops in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century London, which indicates that the printing of advertisements for curiosity shows was by no means a niche market. Perhaps rather than specializing in advertising handbills, individual printers were simply chosen based on their proximity to the exhibition venue.

The last type of media preserved in the collection are a trio of high-quality etchings of individuals with massive goiters on their heads and necks, pictured both before and after the goiters were surgically excised, and accompanied by Latin descriptions of the cases (Figures 31-33). While these prints could have come out of a book, their large format – with generous, uneven margins – and the fact that they were printed only on one side suggest that they may rather belong to a set of medical prints, perhaps distributed serially via the postal service, as each page appears to have been folded several times. That only these three sheets survived out of what was presumably a much larger set suggests that perhaps these were the only etchings which featured monstrous individuals; certainly, each goiter looks to be approximately melon-sized,

and so this date by itself is inconclusive. BL N.Tab.2026/25. Walter Thornbury, "St Mary-le-Strand and the Maypole," in *Old and New London*, vol. 3 ([London?], 1878), 84-88. *British History Online*, accessed 23 September 2012, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=45135>.

which swellings should have been sufficiently large to interest most curiosity-seekers.¹⁴⁹ Regardless of the manner in which they were distributed, however, these prints demonstrate another way in which monsters could be consumed by English audiences: artistic representations.

While such artistic works clearly appealed to an early modern audience, given the number and variety of etchings that were produced in the period, the producers of monstrous prints were clearly no more concerned with accuracy in representation than were the printers of illustrated news pamphlets about beached whales (see Chapter 1).¹⁵⁰ As a case in point, the supposed likeness of an English dwarf, “Mr. *Christopher Bullock*, Watch and Clock-maker, in *Bottesdale*, in the County of *Suffolk*”, was not originally a picture of a dwarf at all.¹⁵¹ Bullock was purportedly pictured in the woodcut accompanying the broadsheet *The Suffolk Wonder: Or, the Pleasant, Facetious, and Merry Dwarf of Bottesdale*, but the picture of the dwarf was actually copied from that of a fat man, “M^r Jacob Powell of *Stebbing* in *Essex* / Who died Oct^r, 6th, 1754 Aged 37 Years, He weigh’d near 40 Stone” or 560 pounds.¹⁵² If that was Powell’s true weight, he appears to have carried his girth surprisingly well (Figure 34). Though consumers of the *Suffolk Wonder* broadside would not have experienced an accurate portrayal of Bullock’s short stature, the many prints correctly identified as Powell are at least more likely to

¹⁴⁹ BL N.Tab.2026/25, tracts 26, 27, 28.

¹⁵⁰ For an extensive and excellent discussion of the art print genre, see Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven and London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press: 2010).

¹⁵¹ Anonymous, *The Suffolk Wonder: or, the Pleasant, Facetious, and Merry Dwarf of Bottesdale*. ([Ipswich?]: [1755]), single sheet.

¹⁵² John Jones after David Ogborne, *Mr Jacob Powell* (London: [1754-97]), single sheet. British Museum, 1902,1011.2912.

have been anatomically accurate. However, as the prints were produced after Powell's death, perhaps the fat man's imagery was no more accurate than the dwarf's.

Much more extensive, both in numbers of prints produced and in the long chronological period through which the monster retained her currency as a newsworthy entity, was the visual hype surrounding the entirely fictitious personage known alternately as Tannakin Skinker or the hog-faced woman of Manchester Square. In 1816, Sir Robert Gordon's seventeenth-century library came up for auction. Published at the behest of the bookseller J. G. Cochrane, the auction booklet advertised "the singular and curious library, originally formed between 1610 and 1650 by Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun ... with some additions by his successors; comprising an extraordinary number of rarities of the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries".¹⁵³ Significantly, the copy held by the Wellcome Library appears to have been Cochrane's own, as the margins contain handwritten annotations detailing the buyer and purchase price of each item. Thus we know that a "Triphook" was willing to pay an impressive £2 16s. for only three items, including a 1579 English version of Martin Luther's and Phillip Melancthon's monk-calf and popish ass pamphlet (see Figure 1).¹⁵⁴

Even more interesting in terms of the survival and reappearance of monstrous stories is the extensive description appended to item #1193, a 1640 pamphlet describing

¹⁵³ John George Cochrane, *A Catalogue of the Singular and Curious Library, Originally Formed between 1610 and 1650 by Sir Robert Gordon ... which Will be Sold by Auction ...* (Weybridge, Surrey: 1816), title page.

¹⁵⁴ Cochrane, *A Catalogue of the Singular and Curious Library*, 140. The item description reads, "Popish Monsters (Two Wonderful) to wyt, of a Popish Asse which was found at Rome in the river of Tyber, and of a Moonkish Calfe, calved at Friberge in Misne, &c. Witnessed and declared, the one by Philip Melancthon, the other by Martyn Luther. Translated out of French into English by John Brooke, of Assh, next Sandwich, wood-cuts, black letter, Lond. East, 1579, 4to. sewed".

the “hog-faced gentlewoman” Tannakin Skinker.¹⁵⁵ Cochrane’s printed description is worth quoting in full:

Whether this be the *original* of this strange story which was revived so strongly in the beginning of last year, (and of which the account extracted from the Times Newspaper of the 16th of February, 1815, will not here be deemed out of place) I cannot pretend to say. At all events, it is above 120 years older than the writer of that article supposed it to be. / “There is at present a report in London of a woman with a strangely deformed face, resembling that of a pig, who is possessed of a large fortune, and, we suppose, wants all the comforts and conveniences incident to her sex and situation. We ourselves, unwittingly, put in an advertisement from a young woman offering herself to be her companion; and yesterday morning a fellow (with a calf’s-head we suppose) transmitted to us another advertisement, attended by a one pound note, offering himself to be her husband. (This advertisement actually did appear in the Morning Herald of February 19th.) We have put his offer in the fire, and shall send his money to some charity, thinking it a pity that such a fool should have any. Our rural friends hardly know what idiots London contains. The pig’s face is as firmly believed in by many as Joanna Southcott’s pregnancy, to which folly it has succeeded. Though no Parson Tozer has yet mounted the rostrum to preach in support of the face, there is hardly a company in which the swinish female is not talked of, and thousands believe in her existence. The story however is an old one. About 50 years ago, it is well recollected by several elderly people, there was exactly the same rumour. It was revived, with but slight effect, about 30 years since, and now comes forth again in its pristine vigor. On the original invention of the pig-faced woman, about the year 1764, a man offered himself to make her an ivory trough to feed out of, which can only be considered as a feeble type of the silver cradle actually presented in our day,” &c. / The pamphlet itself I have not seen before, nor can I find it in any preceding collection.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Cochrane, *A Catalogue of the Singular and Curious Library*, 98. Cochrane’s pamphlet advertisement reads, “The Hog-faced Gentlewoman (A Certain Relation of) called Mistriss Tannakin Skinker, who was borne at Wickham, a neuter Toun betweene the Emperour and the Hollander, scituate on the River Rhyne. Who was bewitched in her Mother’s Wombe, in the yeare 1618, and hath lived ever since unknowne in this kind to any but her parents and a few of her neighbours. And can never recover her true shape tell [sic] she be married, &c. Also relating the cause, as it is since conceived, how her Mother came so bewitched. *With wood-cut of the lady and her suitor, Lond.* 1640, 4to. sewed”.

¹⁵⁶ Cochrane, *A Catalogue of the Singular and Curious Library*, 98-9. Joanna Southcott was a prophet who believed she would give virgin birth to a new Son of God, much to the amusement of the popular press; “Parson Tozer” was cited as a witness to the pregnancy. Sylvia Bowerbank, “Joanna Southcott (1750–1814),” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004-), accessed 26 July 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.lib.ohio-state.edu/view/article/26050>.

Apparently Cochrane's extended tale of the pamphlet's antecedents was worth the extra space it took up on the page, as an otherwise unnamed "Sturt" was willing to pay a staggering £7 17s. 6d. for it, making the hog-faced woman's pamphlet one of the most expensive single items sold at the auction. Presumably, Sturt paid top dollar for the Skinker pamphlet not simply due to its rarity, though Cochrane did do a good job of advertising this: "The pamphlet itself I have not seen before, nor can I find it in any preceding collection".¹⁵⁷ Nor did Sturt simply wish to read for himself an early description of the pig-faced woman who had been such a newsworthy item in 1815. Rather, the purchaser was almost certainly the facsimilist J. Sturt who reprinted *A Certain Relation of the Hog-faced Gentlewoman called Mistris Tannakin Skinker* around this time, most likely from the text of the pamphlet which he bought at Cochrane's auction.¹⁵⁸

Cochrane admitted that he could "not pretend to say" whether his 1640 pamphlet was the "*original* of this strange story", and indeed Tannakin Skinker had debuted simultaneously in a slew of ballads, though what prompted them to be published all at once is a mystery. The only one to survive, *A Monstrous Shape. Or a Shapelesse Monster*, was written "To the tune of the Spanish Pavin" and illustrated with a trio of woodcuts (Figure 35, top).¹⁵⁹ Unlike ballads and broadsides which described living monsters, *A Monstrous Shape* is missing the specific birth details which would have

¹⁵⁷ Cochrane, *A Catalogue of the Singular and Curious Library*, 98.

¹⁵⁸ A.T. Hazen, "J. Sturt, Facsimilist," *The Library* 25 (Fourth Series, 1945), 72-9. Hazen was unaware that Sturt had bought the copy sold at Cochrane's auction in 1816. See also Wilson, *Signs and Portents*, 182-3.

¹⁵⁹ L[aurence] P[rice], *A Monstrous Shape. Or a Shapelesse Monster* ([London, 1639]), single sheet.

verified the truth of the account, therefore implying that the pig-faced woman was not an historical personage.¹⁶⁰ *A Monstrous Shape* instead consists solely of a jaunty song:

And to speak further for her grace,
She hath a dainty white swines face,
Which shews that she came of a race [the Dutch]
that loved fat porke and bacon:
Yet would I not her kindred wrong,
Her nose I think is two foot long,
Also her breath is very strong
and fulsome.¹⁶¹

Neither does *A Certaine Relation of the Hog-faced Gentlewoman called Mistris Tannakin Skinker*, the pamphlet from Cochrane's sale of the Gordon library, contain any biographic information on the woman (Figure 36).¹⁶² However, either four or five lost ballads about Skinker were registered with the Stationers' Company between 4 and 11 December 1639, and if any were ever located and found to contain the biographical information that is lacking in the extant works, this would require a rethinking of the Tannakin Skinker's historical status.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ I here disagree with Tassie Gniady's underlying assumption that Tannakin Skinker was an actual historical personage; Tassie Gniady, "Do You Take this Hog-Faced Woman to be Your Wedded Wife?" in eds. Patricia Fumerton, Anita Guerrini, and Kris McAbee, *Ballads and Broadides in Britain, 1500-1800* (Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 91-107. Jan Bondeson also asserts that Tannakin Skinker was not a living historical personage; Jan Bondeson, *Freaks: The Pig-Faced Lady of Manchester Square & Other Medical Marvels* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus, 2006), 82.

¹⁶¹ Price, *A Monstrous Shape*, single sheet.

¹⁶² Anonymous, *A Certaine Relation of the Hog-faced Gentlewoman called Mistris Tannakin Skinker ...* (London, 1640). The pamphlet was actually entered into the Stationers' Register on 5 December 1639, despite its 1640 imprint. Edward Arber (ed.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 AD*, vol. 4 (London: privately printed, 1 May 1877), 466.

¹⁶³ The lost ballads are: *The Woman Monster*, *A Maiden Monster*, *A Strange Relacion of a Female Monster*, and *A New Ballad of the Swines Faced Gentlewoman*; *A Wonder of These Tymes* was entered by Thomas Lambert along with *A New Ballad* and may potentially also refer to Tannakin Skinker. Price's *A Monstrous Shape. Or a Shapelesse Monster* appears not to have been registered; Arber, *A Transcript*, 466-7. See also Hyder E. Rollins, *A Pepysian Garland: Black-Letter Broadside Ballads of the Years 1595-1639, Chiefly from the Collection of Samuel Pepys* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1922), 449.

For a discussion of knowledge transfer, however, it is less important whether Skinker was an actual historical personage – and whether she indeed had the head of a pig growing from her shoulders – than that English audiences *believed* that some sort of human-pig hybrid was possible and were eager to both receive and interact with such knowledge. So far as much of London’s population was concerned, the hog-faced gentlewoman would have been just as plausible as the conjoined twins born in Middleton Stoney. In fact, by the early eighteenth century, Skinker had grown even closer to the capital’s audience, as James Paris du Plessis claimed in his manuscript book of monsters (see Chapter 5 below) that the “Woman with a Hog’s Face ... Lived in St. Andrews Parish in Holborn, London” (see Figure 37), and by the nineteenth century, she was said to live in Manchester Square, a garden square in the Marylebone area.¹⁶⁴ Not only was the pig-faced woman real, but she was rich and occupied a swanky house to prove it.

The pig-faced woman meme reappeared periodically throughout the seventeenth century after her 1639 debut. Robert Chamberlain featured her in one of his epigrams in 1640: “One asked how it was possible a woman could have a face like a swine? it was answered, that her father was a great eater of brawne, and her mother of swines cheek; and that she was begot a little before dinner, when they had both a mind of their victuals”.¹⁶⁵ Admittedly, this is not the best joke of the volume. In 1653, the “swine fac’d Lady” merited a passing mention in an anonymous satire on the First Anglo-Dutch

¹⁶⁴ BL Add. MS 5246, 12v. Anonymous, *The Pig-Faced Lady of Manchester Square* ([London]: n.d.), Wellcome Library no. 137i. George Cruikshank, *The Pig-Faced Lady of Manchester Square. The Spanish Mule of Madrid* ([London]: 21 March 1815). John Fairburn, Senior, *Fairburn (Senior’s) Edition of the Pig-Faced Lady, of Manchester-Square, Drawn from the Information of a Female who Attended on Her*. ([London], n.d.), Wellcome Library no. 143i.

¹⁶⁵ R[obert] C[hamberlain], *Jocabella, or A Cabinet of Conceits...* ([London], 1640), no. 417.

War, *Ad Populum. Or, A Low-Country Lecture*.¹⁶⁶ And in the 1680s, “the long-nos’d lass” was reprised in a new ballad (see Figure 35, bottom), describing the trials and tribulations of the lady’s potential suitors, a long line of tailors, millers, tinkers, tanners, and glovers. Needless to say, while they were attracted by her “Seventeen thousand good pound” dowry, “The sight of her Visage did give them enuff” of a reason to turn around and go right back home.¹⁶⁷

Just as stories about Tannakin Skinker appeared out of nowhere at the end of 1639, the 1815 craze that so effectively raised the price of Cochrane’s auction lot exploded into print that February. The rumors began sometime before February 9, when an advertisement was placed in *The Times* by “a young Gentlewoman” going by the sobriquet “X. Y.” and presenting herself as a candidate for lady’s maid to “a Lady who is heavily afflicted in the face”.¹⁶⁸ The editors of *The Times* sought to distance themselves from this advertisement, presumably out of embarrassment for having gotten caught up in what all of the newspapers considered a rather asinine rumor, when on the 16th they claimed to have only published it “unwittingly”. However, their real purpose in re-opening this pig-faced box appears to have been to ridicule a gullible young man who had contacted them the day before, the “fellow (with a calf’s head, we suppose) ... [who] offer[ed] himself to be her husband” previously mentioned in Cochrane’s auction

¹⁶⁶ Anonymous, *Ad Populum. Or, A Low-Country Lecture to the People of England, After a Thanksgiving Dinner, Aug. 25. 1653.* ... (London, 1653), A2v.

¹⁶⁷ Anonymous, *The Long-Nos’d Lass* ... ([London, 1685-8?]), single sheet.

¹⁶⁸ Indeed, *The Morning Chronicle* claimed that the story had been circulating for months. *The Morning Chronicle*, “The Mirror of Fashion,” 17 February 1815. *The Times*, “For the Attention of Gentlemen and Ladies,” 9 February 1815.

catalogue. *The Times* went on to mis-identify the story as having first arisen in 1764.¹⁶⁹ To further emphasize the editors' scathing dismissal of the porcine rumors, they happily printed a satirical Letter to the Editor the following day, in which the author "Suiphilus" (narcissist) also characterized the hog-faced woman as "imaginary". He, too, proceeded to mock the would-be suitor's advertisement from two days prior:

As to the swinish Lothario, who wants to marry her, and sent you a one pound note [the editors here added a footnote: "We have sent it to the Marine Society."] for the insertion of his advertisement, I am surprised that he should suppose such a beauty may be so obtained. Undoubtedly, if he means to have her, he must woo her in grunts. The old proverb says, that old birds are not caught with chaff; does he think young pigs are to be caught with paper? No, Mr. Editor, my opinion is, that she should be put up to be grunted for.¹⁷⁰

The Morning Chronicle also got into the action on 17 February, though with a much less rambunctious spirit than *The Times*. Instead of mocking their readers' gullibility, the *Chronicle*'s editors merely chided that the rumors had been "magnified into a monstrous deviation from nature" – note the recurrence of the theme of monstrosity, though applied rather to the rumors than to the woman herself – "and a thousand idle tales are propagated of her having frightened a female engaged to attend her; and that she had actually the head of a pig". Moreover, *The Morning Chronicle* chastised *The Times* not for having refused to print the advertisement by the "desperate fortune-hunter" but rather for "bestow[ing] the money in charity": "Advertisements

¹⁶⁹ *The Times*, 16 February 1815.

¹⁷⁰ *The Times*, "Joanna Sowthcott and the Pig-Faced Woman," 17 February 1815.

deemed improper for insertion are often offered to every respectable newspaper; but surely where they refuse to insert the advertisement, they ought to return the money”.¹⁷¹

By the beginning of March, a slew of fabulous colored etchings, the artistic successors of monstrous broadsides and pamphlets, were circulating around London (Figures 38-50). The earliest dated sheet, purportedly taken from a sketch made on 4 March 1815, featured the hog-faced woman in a white dress and veil, sitting demurely in front of a trough of grain (Figure 38). Supposedly, the etching was “engraved from a Sketch taken by” an unnamed “medical gentleman, who constantly attends her”. The text denied the rumors that she had received offers of marriage – indeed, “for physical reasons, marriage is out of the question” – and likewise denied that she was living in Manchester Square, the location associated with her in so many other etchings. Unusually for these nineteenth-century publications, the majority of which treated the hog-faced gentlewoman as a singular and comedic entity, this author embraced the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century practice of alluding to other, historical monstrous births, in order to give his account more credibility. These included four cases of parasitic twins (one whose superfluous member was “a perfect dog’s head”!) and two of conjoined twins, the famous sisters Eliza and Mary Chulkhurst born at Biddenden, Kent in 1100 (who are celebrated every Easter with “Biddenden cakes”, hard biscuits imprinted with an image of the conjoined women) and the eighteenth-century Hungarians Helen and Judith (see Chapter 4).¹⁷² Stories of the pig-faced woman continued to plague

¹⁷¹ *The Morning Chronicle*, “The Mirror of Fashion,” 17 February 1815.

¹⁷² George Clinch, “The Biddenden Maids,” in *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, New Series, vol. 6, edited by J. Romilly Allen (London: Bemrose and Sons, Ltd., 1900), 42-6. Anonymous, *A True Description of the Young Lady Born with a Pig’s Face* ... ([London, 1815]).

London throughout the nineteenth century, and even in the 1940s, Dubliners repeated the urban legend that Dr. Steevens's Hospital had been founded by the hog-headed sister of the doctor.¹⁷³ Thus, the story of a woman with the head of a pig – which today would be better suited to *The National Enquirer* than *The London Times* – which had first cropped up in English cheap print around 1640, continued to be reproduced in both print and pictorial representation into the twentieth century because English audiences found the story of a human-pig hybrid credible.

More specialized than art prints and etchings, European painters produced portraits of those monsters who were patronized by nobility and royalty in England and on the Continent. Generally, these monsters belonged to their patrons rather than acting as members of their courts, and the unusual individuals provided entertainment – often as jester-like figures but occasionally in the form of an extravagant wedding – and could be gifted or otherwise passed between nobles' retinues. Among the abnormal anatomies most often depicted in portraiture were hirsute individuals, such as the hairy Gonzalez family who toured around Europe in the late sixteenth century, and a large number of congenital dwarfs. Though most representations of court dwarfs originated on the Continent, a few dwarfs were featured in English portraiture as well, including Queen Elizabeth I's court dwarf Thomasina (also called "Thomazina Muliercula", "Mrs. Tamasin", or "Tomasin de Paris") (Figure 51), the dwarf belonging to Sir William Russell (Figure 52), and the married dwarf pair Richard and Anne Gibson (Figure 53).¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Bondeson, *Freaks*, 84.

¹⁷⁴ Rayne Allinson, "Thomasina", in *A Biographical Encyclopedia of Early Modern Englishwomen: Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts, 1500-1650*, edited by Carole Levin, Anna Rihl Bertolet and Michele Osherow (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, forthcoming).

Richard Gibson was famous not just for his size (3'10") but also as a celebrated miniature painter who worked, among others, for the fourth Earl of Pembroke, the second Earl of Carnarvon, Kings Charles I and II, and as drawing-master to Mary and Anne, the young daughters of James, Duke of York.¹⁷⁵

But the dwarf about whom we know the most, and of whom the most portraits and other likenesses were created, was Jeffrey Hudson, court dwarf and "Captain of Horse" to Queen Henrietta Maria, wife of King Charles I (Figures 54-62).¹⁷⁶ Henrietta Maria had obtained Hudson as a gift from George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham shortly before Christmas 1626, when Hudson became part of the Queen's menagerie at Denmark House. Buckingham, in turn, had received seven-year-old Hudson from his father John Hudson, a butcher, earlier that year.¹⁷⁷ While this process of gifting an eighteen-inch-tall boy exemplifies the idea of the monster-as-commodity, Hudson himself certainly benefitted from the exchange. Rather than growing up as a butcher's son who would likely have been too small to learn his father's trade, Hudson became a full member of the Queen's court. Though he was expected to earn his keep by entertaining the Queen, that "keep" included hand-tailored outfits, as much food as he cared to eat, and sumptuous living quarters. However, Hudson was less a member of court than an accessory to it, a feature which is particularly noticeable in his double portrait with the Queen (Figure 56), in which Henrietta Maria chose to have herself depicted with two of her prized possessions, both members of her menagerie: a dwarf and a monkey. Certainly, Hudson would have

¹⁷⁵ John Murdoch, "Richard Gibson [Dwarf Gibson] (1605/1615?–1690)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004-), accessed 23 April 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10631>.

¹⁷⁶ Page, *Lord Minimus*, 156.

¹⁷⁷ Page, *Lord Minimus*, 13, 26, 34-5.

been considered more human than the simian, but his worth was in being somewhat less than entirely human: a perfectly-portioned walking, talking doll.

The portraits demonstrate the expense that the Queen lavished upon playing dress-up with Hudson. He is depicted wearing rich fabrics in stylish cuts and even carried an appropriately-sized sword (see especially Figures 58 and 60). Beyond these *accoutrements*, the very existence of the portraits demonstrates the Queen's perception of Hudson's worth. Daniel Mytens painted three double portraits of the Queen and her dwarf (now all lost), which were each priced at 80 pounds, twice the going rate for a full-length single portrait of either Charles or Henrietta Maria; this price suggests that the portraits were likely life-sized and extremely detailed. Erin Griffey points out that "there are no other portraits listed in the warrants by Mytens of any other royal servants, with either the King or Queen, or, for that matter, shown alone". Henrietta Maria paid Mytens a further 40 pounds in 1630 for the solo portrait of Hudson in a wood (Figure 54), which was hung in the Bear Gallery at Whitehall, "in elevated company in a room filled with portraits of worthies, including Mary, Queen of Scots, Christian, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, and James Hamilton, 2nd Marquis of Hamilton, all by Mytens".¹⁷⁸ Hudson features prominently with Henrietta Maria and a monkey in the full-length portrait by Anthony van Dyck (Figure 56) and appears with both King and Queen, and accompanied by small dogs, in two larger-format paintings (Figures 55 and 57). Some of these paintings were later reproduced as etchings of the tiny man (see especially Figures 59 and

¹⁷⁸ Erin Griffey, "Multum in parvo: Portraits of Jeffrey Hudson, Court Dwarf to Henrietta Maria", *The British Art Journal* 4.3 (Autumn 2003), 39-53; quotation 42, 43, 44.

62), in this way transforming the dwarf's courtly representations into a public commodity.

Monstrous entertainment in early modern London could thus take several forms. Most affordable, and therefore available to the widest audience, were the monster shows which were advertised through cheaply printed tracts and which took place in a variety of public venues, including coffeehouses, pubs, and fairs. More expensive than accounts of monsters printed in broadsides and pamphlets were artistic etchings of individuals with unusual anatomies: accuracy was of less importance in these works than the visual entertainment they could provide. Available primarily to an elite audience of nobility and their adherents, at least on a daily basis, were the court dwarfs, giants, and hairy individuals whose bodies entertained their patrons and whose representations were preserved within some of the premiere art collections in Europe. In all of these iterations, unusual anatomies and their likenesses were viewed, and even collected, by various members of their audiences, and even London's laboring population would have been able to afford attendance at a periodic monster show. Chapter 3 continues to examine these themes of physical display, artistic representation, and the commodification of monsters – who could be viewed for a price, bought and sold, or given as gifts – in relation to the conjoined twins Aquila and Priscilla Herring, born in 1680 in the tiny village of Isle Brewers, Somerset. As with London's monster exhibitions, the Herring twins were put on show for profit. Like the hog-faced gentlewoman, their likenesses and written descriptions of their bodies were distributed via cheap print. And similarly to

Jeffrey Hudson, they were treated as property: either of their parents or of the people who possessed them.

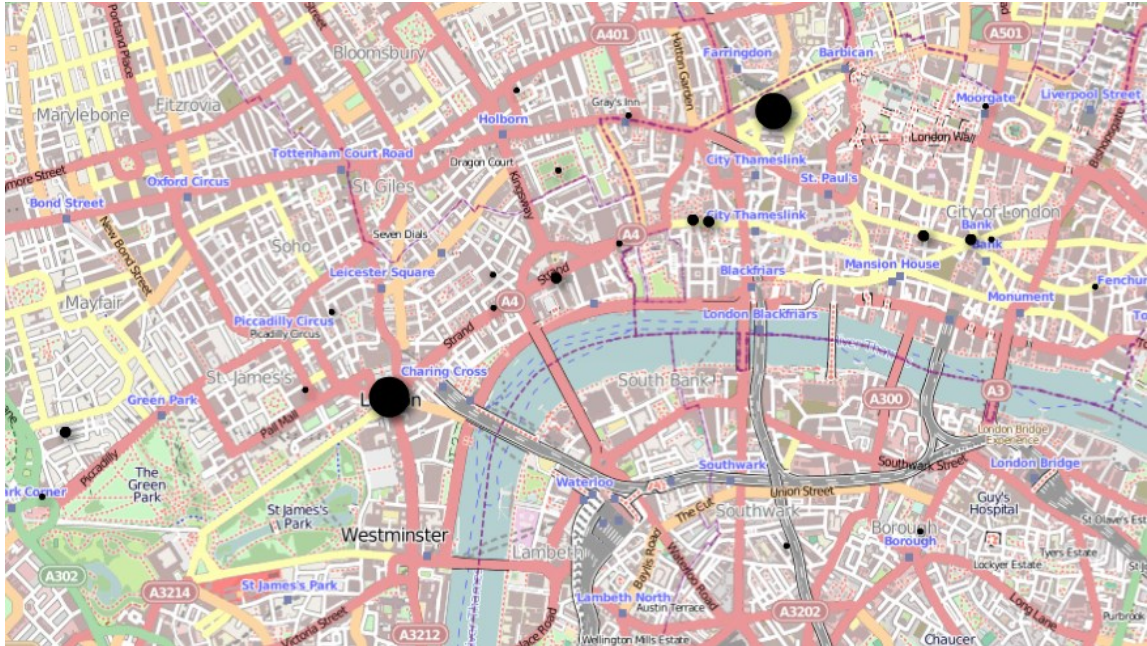


Figure 26 - Locations of London Curiosity Shows

The locations at which human and animal curiosities, alive and dead, could be seen in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century London. Note the concentrations at Charing Cross (lower left, 16 advertisements), Bartholomew Fair (upper right, 13 tracts), and in the Strand and Fleet Street (curving along the northern bank of the Thames).

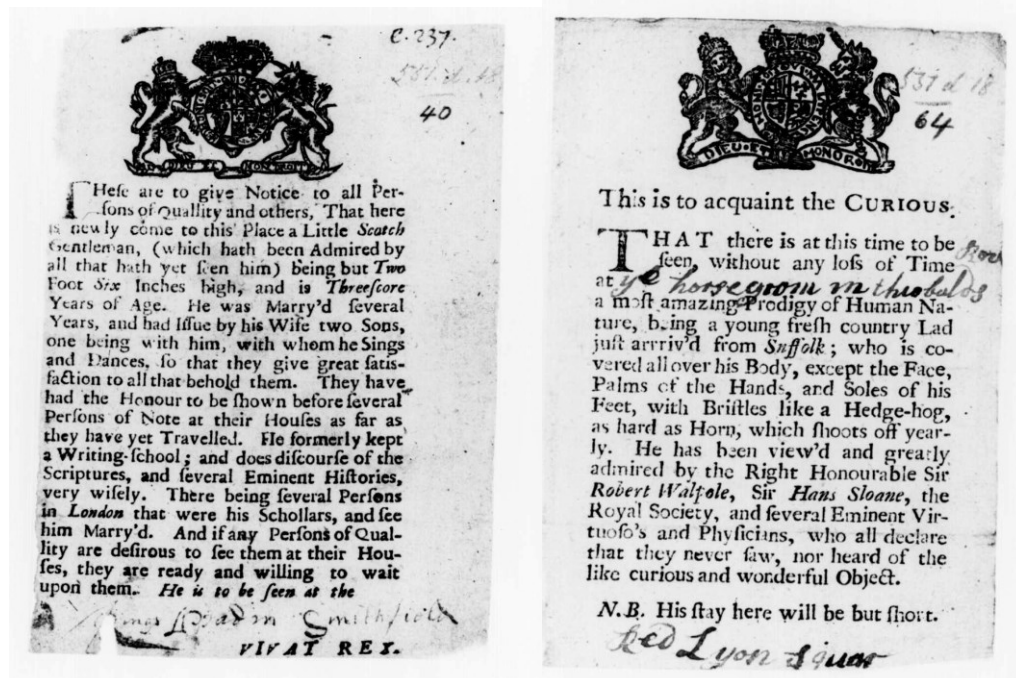


Figure 27 - Handbills with Hand-Written Locations

These monsters were to be seen in “Kings P[er]ad [Parade?] in Smithfield” and at “ye horsegrom in theobalds Row” by “Red Lyon Squar”, respectively. Filling in the location of an exhibition by hand implies either that these monsters would not stay in one place for long. BL N.Tab.2026/25, tracts 40 and 64.

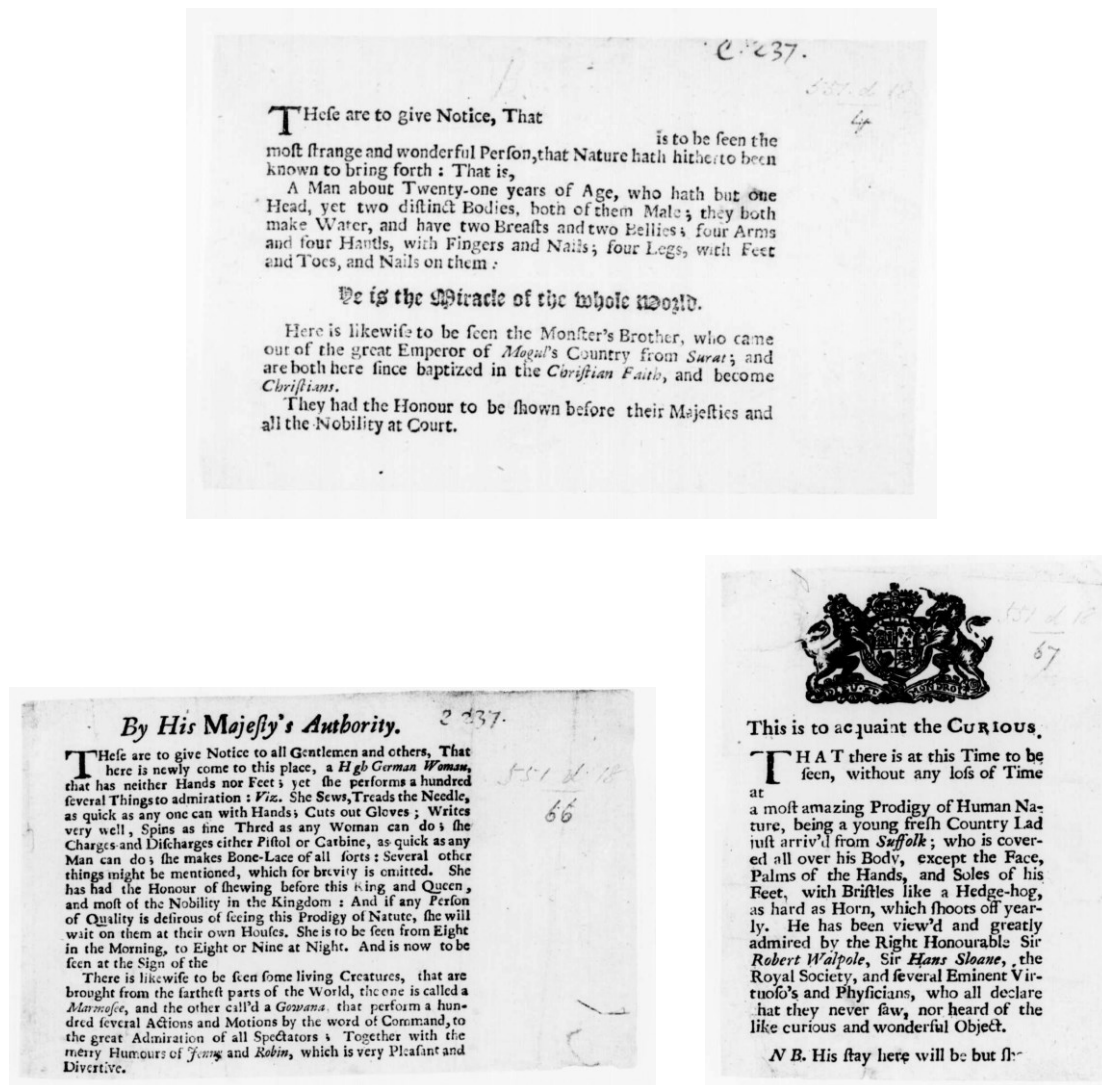


Figure 28 - Handbills with Blank Locations

On these advertisements, the locations were never filled in on the blanks left for them. Presumably, this would have been an oversight on the part of the monsters' handlers, though it might also have been a result of a print over-run that was distributed straight from the print shop, without passing through the hands of whoever was in charge of locating venues. BL N.Tab.2026/25, tracts 4, 66, and 67.



Figure 29 - Near-Identical Warrant Blocks

A series of seven leaflets advertising four separate monsters featured these three Warrant print blocks, which are so nearly identical as to suggest that they were cut by the same artist at the same time, presumably for a printer with multiple presses which could conceivably be running simultaneously. All three blocks feature distinctively similar eyes on the lion and unicorn, and the differences are perhaps most noticeable with a close

examination of the text of the royal motto, “Dieu/v et mon droit”. The featured Warrant impressions are from BL N.Tab.2026/25, tracts 68, 70, 73. Tracts 55, 68, and 72 all share the first Warrant block; 41, 70, and 71 share the second; and 73 was printed with the third block. 70 and 71 advertise “the *Eighth great Wonder of the World*, viz. A Young-Man about the 24th Year of his Age, who (tho he was born without Arms) performs all manner of Martial Exercises with his Feet”. These two tracts are utterly identical and were clearly printed in the same print run; 68 contains identical text to 70 and 71 but features a different Warrant block and slightly different typesetting in the main body of the text. This overlap of printing block and text almost certainly ties these six tracts (41, 55, 68, 70, 71, and 72) to the same printer’s workshop and suggests that the hawkers for this spectacle – which “may be seen at any time of the Day, without Loss of time, at the *Coach and Horses at Charing-Cross*” – had run out of the original set of flyers and got another set printed. The tract printed with the third Warrant block, number 73, described “a very Tall Man” arrived from Germany and “also a Tall Woman” out of Italy which could be “seen every Day, from Ten in the Morning till Seven at Night, at the Sign of the *Herculus’s Pillars*, at *Charing-Cross* next door but two to the Famous *Kaamas’s*”. This text, though not the typesetting or Warrant block, is identical to that of Tract 72, and Tract 55 similarly advertises the tall woman, who was available to be seen at that time in Fleet Street, “at the *Blew-Boar and Green-Tree* ... next Door where the great *Elephant* is to be seen”. Since elephants were only on show in London in 1675, 1683, and 1720, Tract 55 must date from one of these years.¹⁷⁹ Presumably the tall man from Tract 73 either had not yet arrived in London or had already moved on to a different location, as he did not feature in Tract 55.¹⁸⁰ BL N.Tab.2026/25, tracts 41, 55, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73.

¹⁷⁹ BL N.Tab.2026/25, tract 55. Anonymous, *A True and Perfect Description of the Strange and Wonderful Elephant*. Anonymous, *A True and Perfect Description of the Strange and Wonderful She-Elephant*. Christopher Plumb, “‘Strange and Wonderful’: Encountering the Elephant in Britain, 1675-1830”, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33.4 (2010), 525-43.

¹⁸⁰ BL N.Tab.2026/25, tracts 41, 55, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73.



Figure 30 - Inconsistent Use of Warrant Blocks

Simply owning a Royal Warrant print block did not guarantee that a printer would use it regularly. For example, Tracts 37, 38, and 39 feature nearly identical text describing “A Little Black Man ... but 3 Foot high ..., 2 Wood Monsters ..., a little Marmoset ..., a Noble Civet Cat ... which is admir’d for his Beauty, and that incomparable Scent which Perfumes the whole Place ..., a Muntosh ... being very wonderfully Marked” and, in the

case of Tracts 37 and 38, “a Helliscope ... Specked like a *Leopard*”. Tracts 38 (middle) and 39 (bottom) both feature Royal Warrants, though the execution of 39’s is much more detailed than that of 38, while Tract 37 (top) is instead headed with a woodcut featuring the “Little Black Man ... but 3 Foot high, and 25 Years Old”. As the lower Warrant block (from Tract 39) features the initials “A R” and both Tracts 38 and 39 proclaim “Vivat Regina”, these leaflets can be assumed to date from Queen Anne’s reign. One noticeable difference between the text of these three leaflets is the location where this collection of curiosities could be viewed. For Tracts 38 and 39, the menagerie was located at “the *Booth* in Lincolns-Inn-Fields”, whereas Tract 37 advertised them at “*May Fair*, the first *Booth* on the Left Hand, over against Mr. *Pinckemans Booth*; During the usual time of the *Fair*”. Curiosities certainly moved around among alehouses, coffeehouses, and fairs in order to take advantage of fresher audiences, as can be seen in the case of the “little *Marmazel*” who also featured in Tract 52, this time on display with “A Little *Farey Woman* ... Two Foot Two Inches high” and “a strange Cock ... having Three proper Legs, Two Fundaments, and makes use of them both at one time”. In addition to being an unusual sight, the marmoset had been taught to dance “the *Cheshire Rounds*”, could “Exercise[...] at the Word of Command”, and “Dances with 2 naked Swords, and performs several other Pretty Fancies”.¹⁸¹ BL N.Tab.2026/25, tracts 37, 38, 39.

¹⁸¹ The *Oxford English Dictionary* does not contain either “muntosh” or “helliscope”, though each can be assumed to be some type of animal, as the descriptions for both seem to feature mottled skin. BL N.Tab.2026/25, tracts 37, 38, 39, 52.



Figure 31 - A Monstrous Goiter 1

The first of three high-quality before-and-after etchings of monstrous goiters included in the collection of advertisements. The patient, Henrico Henrici, had his removed when he was about 36 years old. BL N.Tab.2026/25, tract 26.

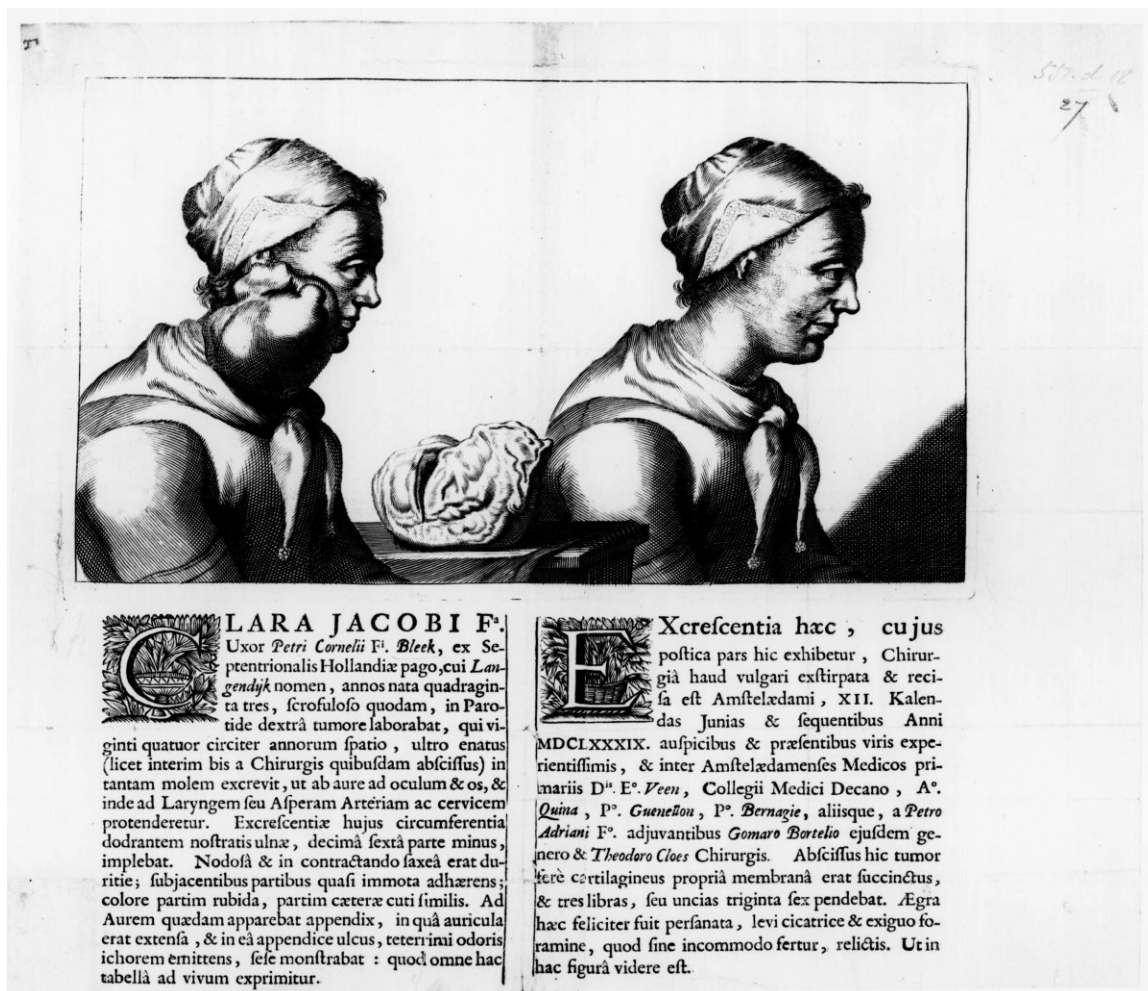


Figure 32 - A Monstrous Goiter 2

Clara Jacobi's excised goiter, surgically removed when she was about 43 years old, appears on the table between her before-and-after pictures. BL N.Tab.2026/25, tract 27.

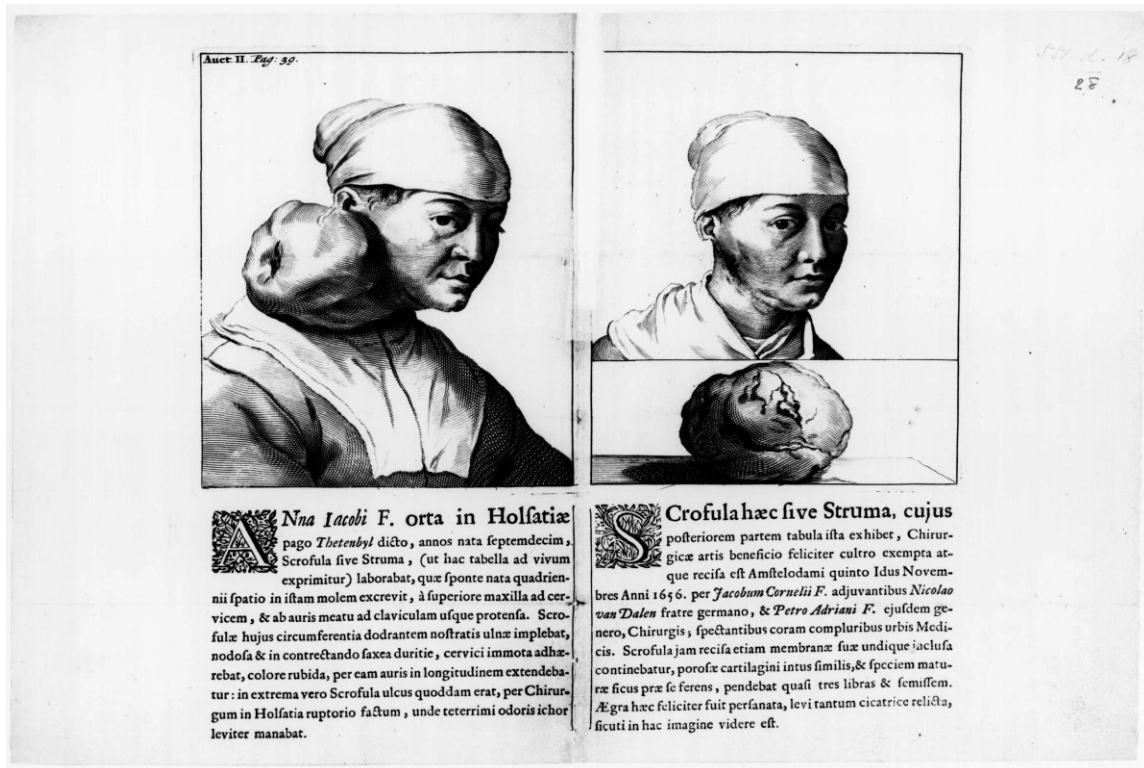


Figure 33 - A Monstrous Goiter 3

Anna Iacobi (unlikely to be related to Clara Jacobi in Figure 32, as Clara was from Holland and Anna came from Germany) had her goiter removed at age 17. The format of these three etchings – printed on a single-sided sheet with uneven margins and a numbering scheme visible in Figures 31 and 33 – implies that they belonged to a set of medical prints, possibly produced serially. BL N.Tab.2026/25, tract 28.



Figure 34 - The Dwarf and the Fat Man

The dwarf Christopher Bullock (left), as copied from a mezzotint of the fat man Jacob Powell (right). A number of etchings and other similar prints of Powell, in the same pose complete with handkerchief and wig, were produced shortly after his death in 1754. Anonymous, *The Suffolk Wonder: or, the Pleasant, Facetious, and Merry Dwarf of Bottesdale*. ([Ipswich?]: [1755]), single sheet. John Jones, after David Ogborne, *Mr Jacob Powell* (London: [1754-97]), British Museum, 1902,1011.2912.



Figure 35 - The Pig-Faced Lady 1

While the image of Tannakin (top left) would have been created expressly for *A Monstrous Shape. Or a Shapelesse Monster*, her suitors (top middle and top right) are clearly printed from extant woodblocks. The right gentleman looks to have originally existed as part of a larger block, as his right hand appears to have once been touching something which was removed from the block for this print job. The illustrations for the ballad *The Long-Nos'd Lass* (bottom) were clearly based on the woodcuts from *A Monstrous Shape. Or a Shapelesse Monster*. Again, while the pig-faced lady herself would have been created explicitly for this broadside, the suitors' images were just as clearly borrowed from other publications. L[aurance] P[rice], *A Monstrous Shape. Or a Shapelesse Monster* ([London: 1639]), single sheet. Anonymous, *The Long-Nos'd Lass* ... ([London: 1685-8?]), single sheet.



Figure 36 - The Pig-Faced Lady 2

An illustration of Tannakin Skinker and one of her suitors (above). The same printing block, altered to adorn a lovers' ballad (below). Anonymous, *A Certaine Relation of the Hog-faced Gentlewoman called Mistris Tannakin Skinker ...* (London, 1640). Anonymous, *The Welch-Mans Complements: or, The True Manner how Shinkin Woed his Sweet-Heart Maudlin ...* (London, 1643). The re-use of this woodblock was noticed by the anonymous author of the blog *The 1640s Picturebook: Costume and Stuff from the English Civil War*, accessed 23 July 2012, <http://the1642goodwyfe.wordpress.com/2012/03/26/a-certaine-relation/>.

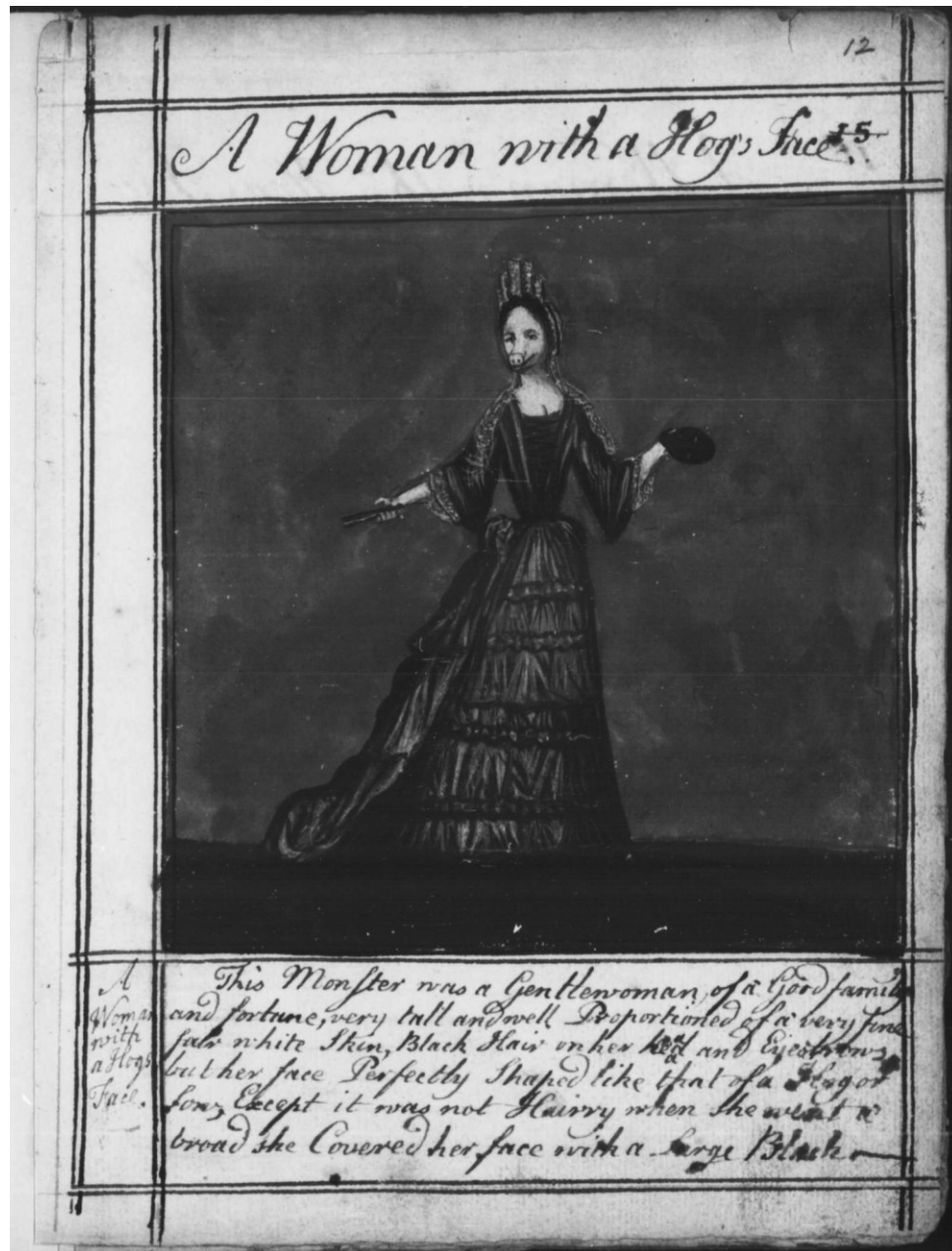


Figure 37 - The Pig-Faced Lady 3

A hand-drawn and -colored version of the hog-faced woman from around 1730, contained within James Paris du Plessis's commonplace book of monsters. Paris, along with other residents of London, believed in the actual existence of such a woman. BL Add. MS 5246, 12r.



Figure 38 - The Pig-Faced Lady 4

This broadsheet copy, from the British Museum, features several holes at the top of the sheet, which could conceivably indicate that the etching was hung on a wall, either as art or news. Anonymous, *A True Description of the Young Lady Born with a Pig's Face ...* ([London: 1815]).



Figure 39 - The Pig-Faced Lady 5

The pig-faced lady, shown here opposite the Spanish Mule of Madrid, a parody of King Ferdinand VII of Spain. George Cruikshank, *The Pig-Faced Lady of Manchester Square. The Spanish Mule of Madrid* ([London]: 21 March 1815).



Figure 40 - The Pig-Faced Lady 6

The pig-faced gentlewoman dancing with a short man with a hump.¹⁸² [Williams], *Waltzing in Courtship* ([London]: March 1815).

¹⁸² Mary George identifies this man as Lord Kirkcudbright; she also identifies the artist's surname. Mary Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires: Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, vol. 9 (British Museum: London, 1949), 602-3.



Figure 41 - The Pig-Faced Lady 7

Compare this depiction with that of Figure 42. Anonymous, *The Pig-Faced Lady. Presented Gratis with the Police News* ([London?], n.d.), Wellcome Library no. 142i.



Figure 42 - The Pig-Faced Lady 8

The painter George Morland's drawing of the pig-faced woman named her as a "Miss Atkinson". Morland had died in 1804, so his inspiration cannot have been as a result of the 1815 craze.¹⁸³ Reproduced in Ricky Jay, *Learned Pigs and Fireproof Women* (New York: Warner Books, 1986), 30.

¹⁸³ Jay, *Learned Pigs and Fireproof Women*, 32.



Figure 44 - The Pig-Faced Lady 10

The depiction of the pig-faced lady reclining at her writing desk appears to have been popular (see also Figures 45-48). John Fairburn, Senior, *Fairburn (Senior's) Edition of the Pig-Faced Lady, of Manchester-Square...* ([London], n.d.), Wellcome Library no. 143i.



Figure 45 - The Pig-Faced Lady 11

This second edition of Fairburn's publication contains additional information on the lady, specifically full quotations of those articles from the *Times* of 9 February and the *Morning Herald* of 16 February. Reproduced in Jay, *Learned Pigs and Fireproof Women*, 29.



Figure 46 - The Pig-Faced Lady 12

A version of the seated lady in reverse, likely copying Fairburn's etching (or *vice versa*). This image was preserved in a scrapbook in the Wellcome's collection, mounted with various unrelated poems. Anonymous, *The Pig-Faced Lady* ([London?]: n.d.), Wellcome Library no. 141i.



Figure 47 - The Pig-Faced Lady 13

The lady, seated at a writing desk and with the head of the dancer from Figure 40. Reproduced in Jay, *Learned Pigs and Fireproof Women*, 32.

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

A black and white illustration of a woman with a fox-like head sitting at a desk and writing with a quill. She is wearing a low-cut, fringed dress and a necklace. A large mirror is on the wall behind her, and a curtain is visible on the left.

[illegible]

FR

A Orléans, Chez RABIER-BOULAND, Marchand de papier, rue des Carmes, n° 44.

134

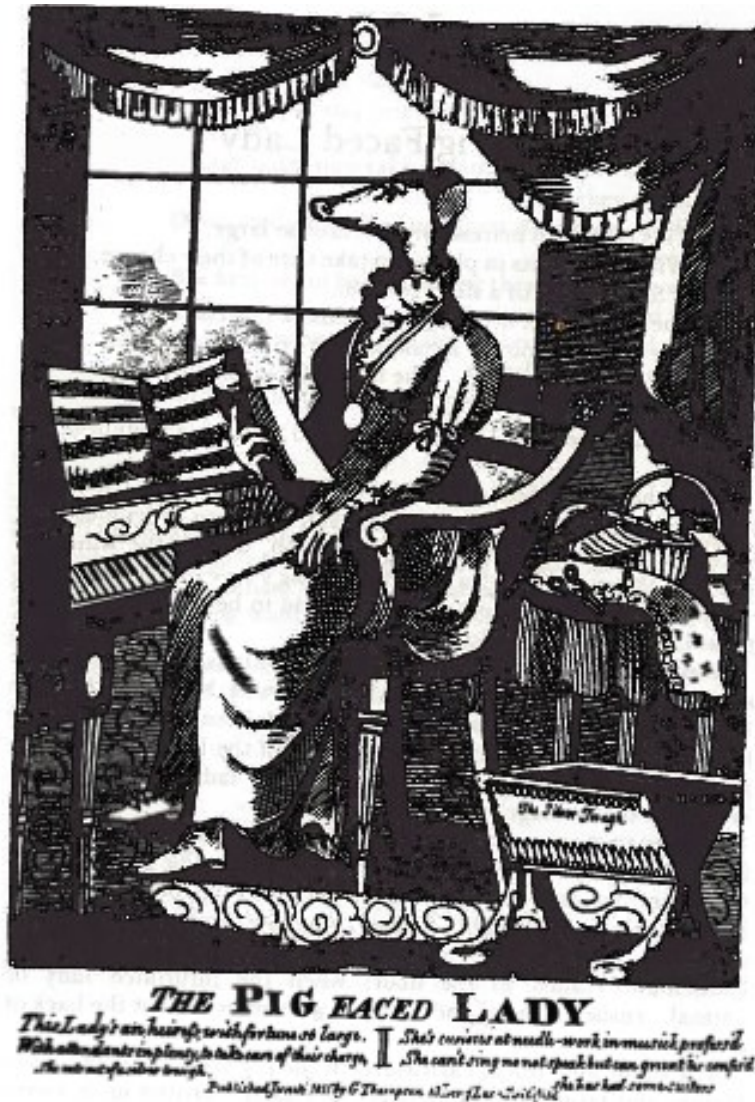


Figure 49 - The Pig-Faced Lady 15

The text reads: “This Lady’s an heiress, with fortune so large, / With attendants in plenty, to take care of their charge, / She eats out of a silver trough [conveniently labeled in the etching]. / She’s curious at needlework in musick profess’d / She can’t sing no not speak but can grunt ‘tis confes’d. / she has some suitors”. Anonymous, *The Pig Faced Lady* (London: 10 June 1815). Reproduced in *Later English Broadside Ballads*, edited by John Holloway and Joan Black, vol. 2 (Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, Boston, and Henley: 1979), 262.



Figure 50 - The Pig-Faced Lady 16

This ballad utilizes a stereotypical Dutch accent to hearken back to the seventeenth-century Tannakin Skinker's supposed Dutch origins. The first incarnation of Astley's Amphitheatre was built in London in 1769, and its last building was not demolished until 1893.¹⁸⁴ However, the possible date of publication of this ballad can be narrowed to the dates during which John Pitts was a printer at No. 14 Seven Dials, 1802 to 1819, placing this song squarely in the date range of the 1815 craze.¹⁸⁵ Anonymous, *The Pig Faced Lady*. *Sung at Astley's Theatre, &c.*, Bodleian Library, Douce Ballads 3(132).

¹⁸⁴ Marius Kwint, "Philip Astley (1742–1814)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004–), accessed 15 April 2012, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/821>.

¹⁸⁵ Leslie Shepard, *John Pitts: Ballad Printer of Seven Dials, London, 1765–1844* (London: Private Libraries Association: 1969), 39, 55.



Figure 51 - The Dwarf Thomasina

Dressed in a black gown and white ruff at front center left may be Queen Elizabeth I's court dwarf and lady-in-waiting Thomasina. Attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, *Queen Elizabeth I Dancing with Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester* (c. 1580), Penhurst Place, Kent.



Figure 52 - The Duke of Bedford's Dwarf

The first Duke of Bedford was eleven years old when he stood for this portrait, making the dwarf with whom he was pictured seem even shorter by comparison. Johannes Priwitzer, *Portrait of Sir William Russell and his Dwarf* (1627), Woburn Abbey.



Figure 53 - The Dwarfs Richard and Anne Gibson

The English dwarfs Richard Gibson and his wife Anne (*née* Sheppard). Richard Gibson was a celebrated miniaturist and “Page of the Back-Stairs” to King Charles I, who also “gave him his wife in marriage” in 1641.¹⁸⁶ The sketch (top left) is a self-portrait, while

¹⁸⁶ Murdoch, “Richard Gibson.”

Richard was portrayed alone (top right) and with Anne (bottom left) by Peter Lely. Anne was also painted with Mary Villiers, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox (bottom right). Richard Gibson, *Self-Portrait* (c. 1658), British Museum, 1881,0611.157. After Sir Peter Lely, *Richard Gibson* (1658), National Portrait Gallery, London. Peter Lely, *Portrait of Richard and Anne Gibson* (late 17th century), private collection. Reproduced in Griffey, “*Multum in parvo*”, 51. Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Mary Villiers, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox, with her Dwarf Mrs. Gibson* (1638), Wilton House, Salisbury, Wiltshire.



Figure 54 - The Dwarf Jeffrey Hudson 1

Jeffrey Hudson in a wood, wearing a custom-tailored red velvet suit. Daniel Mytens, *Portrait of Jeffrey Hudson* (c. 1628-30), The Royal Collection.



Figure 55 - The Dwarf Jeffrey Hudson 2

Jeffrey Hudson can be seen lower left, restraining a tiny hunting dog and dwarfed by the more normally-sized spaniel behind him. Daniel Mytens, *Charles I and Henrietta Maria Departing for the Chase* (c. 1630-2), The Royal Collection.



Figure 56 - The Dwarf Jeffrey Hudson 3

Jeffrey Hudson in red velvet and a monkey, both human-like members of Queen Henrietta Maria's menagerie, with his royal mistress. Anthony van Dyck, *Queen Henrietta Maria with Sir Jeffrey Hudson* (1633), National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.



Figure 57 - The Dwarf Jeffrey Hudson 4

Jeffrey Hudson can be seen center left, again wearing red velvet and accompanied by small dogs. British School, *An Interior with Charles I, Henrietta Maria, the Earls of Pembroke and Jeffrey Hudson* (c. 1635), The Royal Collection.



Figure 58 - The Dwarf Jeffrey Hudson 5

Note the appropriately-sized sword which Jeffrey Hudson carries in this painting. Hudson's pose is quite similar to that of the etchings in Figure 59. Gilbert Jackson, *Portrait of Jeffrey Hudson* (c. 1636-9), Sherborne Castle, Dorset. Reproduced in Erin Griffey, "*Multum in parvo*", 51.



**Gaze on with wonder, and
discerne in me,
The abstract of the worlds E-
pitome.**

Figure 59 - The Dwarf Jeffrey Hudson 6

This is the engraved frontispiece (left) to *The New Year's Gift*, a tiny book distributed at court as a present for the New Year (Old Style), 25 March 1636.¹⁸⁷ The book, with its frontispiece, was re-printed, though not terribly carefully, for London distribution (right). Martin Droeshout (engraver), *Jeffrey Hudson* (1636), National Portrait Gallery, London. Master Slater, *The New-Yeeres Gift: Presented at Court, from the Lady Parvula to the Lord Minimus, (Commonly Called Little Jefferie) Her Majesties Servant, with a Letter as it was Penned in Short-Hand: Wherein is Proved Little Things are Better then Great* (London: 1636), opposite title page.

¹⁸⁷ Griffey, "Multum in parvo," 46.



Figure 61 - The Giant William Evans and the Dwarf Jeffrey Hudson

A nineteenth-century sketch of the bas-relief plaque, dated 1669, which once hung in Newgate Street of Jeffrey Hudson and William Evans, the giant who was a porter to King Charles I. British Museum, 1874,0314.277, detail from John Wykeham Archer, *Signs, Badges, Coats of Arms &c Drawn 1842*.



Figure 62 - Portrait Misidentified as Featuring Jeffrey Hudson

In the nineteenth century, this painting (left) was thought to have been of Jeffrey Hudson, and it served as the design for an engraving by James Stow (right). Artist unknown (formerly attributed to Daniel Mytens), *Unknown Man, Formerly Known as Jeffrey Hudson* (mid-17th century), National Portrait Gallery, London. James Stow, after Daniel Mytens, *Jeffrey Hudson* (London, 1810), National Portrait Gallery, London. For a brief discussion of the attribution of this painting to Daniel Mytens and as being of Jeffrey Hudson, see Griffey, “*Multum in parvo*”, 44.

Chapter 3: Local Knowledge: or, Who Owned Priscilla and Aquila Herring?

The Second Interrogatory “to be administred to wittneses to be produced & examined on the parte & behalfe of Mary Herringe widdow Complainant against Henry Walrond Esq.r Defendant”:

Item did you att any tyme see the two Children growinge togeather in theire sides which the Complainant was some tyme in May which was in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred & Eighty deliuered of, if yea, how often & wherein did they differ from other Children Declare the particlers thereof vnto us much as you did know ...

Mary Blewett’s response:

... this Deponent saith That about Whitesunday which was in the yeare of our Lord one Thousand Six hundred & Eighty this Deponent did see the twoe Children growinge togeather in theire sides ... the Said Twoe Children were growne together aboute the Middle of theire Bodyes Side to Side & appeared to have but one Navell and in this Deponents Judgement only one Belly But in all other partes were twoe Children [havin]ge twoe heads Fower Armes & Fower Leggs ...¹⁸⁸

Taken from trial depositions administered by four Chancery Court clerks in 1682, these question-and-answer sessions revolved around how much witnesses “know beleive or have heard” regarding the alleged kidnapping of the conjoined twins Aquila and Priscilla Herring of Isle Brewers, Somerset in 1680.¹⁸⁹ While the *truth* behind the case remains elusive – Did the Justice of the Peace Sir Henry Walrond mastermind an elaborate scheme to steal the infants from their parents, or was Richard Herring instead guilty of selling off his conjoined children without his wife Mary’s knowledge or consent? – this

¹⁸⁸ TNA C 22/89/11, Court of Chancery: Six Clerks Office: Country Depositions, Series II. Six Clerk Division: Collins. Herring v. Walrond, 12r, 19r. This equity case consists of four dockets: C 6/6/94 (2 folios) is Richard Herring’s original plea; C 22/641/26 (3 folios) is Henry Walrond’s examination, along with an account of showing the twins in London during September 1680; and C 22/88/17 (6 folios) and C 22/89/11 (19 folios) consist of depositions on behalf of both parties.

¹⁸⁹ TNA C 22/89/11, 19r.

chapter primarily focuses on the stories told by the complainant (originally Richard and then Mary Herring, after Richard's death), the defendant (Henry Walrond), and the bevy of 52 witnesses, many of whom recounted not only their own observations and impressions but also the gossip they had heard concerning individual events. As such, this chapter addresses how the birth, public display, and death of a pair of conjoined twins – about which knowledge travelled as far as the Brislington potteries outside of Bristol and London's Courts of Chancery – were considered both gossip-worthy and a local scandal. Beyond a background of the twins' birth and appearance, this chapter will examine the individual stories surrounding how they came to be removed from their family home, how long and under what circumstances they survived thereafter, and what was done with them after their deaths. A useful approach to such a study is that of Natalie Zemon Davis's *Fiction in the Archives*. Though Davis concentrates on French pardon tales, her characterization of trial records as "fictional", or driven by a desire to craft a narrative, provides a means of sorting through the versions of the "truth" told by half-a-hundred participants in the Herring v. Walrond case. While in this case, a single "moral truth" does not appear out of the narratives – indeed, two quite disparate versions of the story develop out of the plea, response, and witness testimonies – Davis's assertion that "the shaping or embellishing of a history [did not] necessarily mean forgery" precisely encompasses the case *as it was presented to the Chancery clerks*.¹⁹⁰ Each participant emphasized the truth of his or her assertions, and while of necessity only one side of the story may be *true*, an examination of the court case regarding who lawfully

¹⁹⁰ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 2-4.

owned the bodies of Aquila and Priscilla Herring can provide us a glimpse into how the people of late-seventeenth-century Somerset shared knowledge and gossip about a particular case of monstrosity.

On 19 May 1680, Mary – the wife of the laborer Richard Herring from the village of Isle Brewers in Somerset – went into labor.¹⁹¹ She had apparently been “so big and unwieldy” during the pregnancy “that all concluded that she would have two Children or Twins at that Birth; which observations and asseverations did not altogether fail”, as she gave birth to conjoined twins after “an easie Travel [travail]”, a distinctly unusual occurrence in cases of conjoinment.¹⁹² According to “Mr. A.P.” – likely the Reverend Andrew Paschall, vicar of Chedzoy, located about 15 miles from Isle Brewers – who seems to have interviewed the midwife Sarah Pearce, “the after-burthen though but one

¹⁹¹ TNA C 6/6/94, Court of Chancery: Six Clerks Office: Pleadings before 1714, Collins. *Herringe v. Walrond*, ff. 2, 4. The two surviving copies of the anonymous pamphlet *A True Relation of a Monstrous Female-Child* (owned by the Wellcome Library and the British Library, as identified by the ESTC) cite the birth date on the title page as either 6 or 19 May (though the trial records definitively identify the date as the 19th). This indicates that the pamphlet was actually printed twice (minor variations in spelling and typesetting throughout the pamphlet demonstrate that the title page’s date was not simply amended mid-print run), presumably because the first print run sold out quite quickly. Both copies were printed by D. Mallet, feature the same woodcut of the twins, and utilize nearly identical fonts and font sizes. Although WorldCat suggests that over twenty copies of this pamphlet have survived, this is actually the result of a catalogue error, whereby electronic copies of the pamphlets (available through EEBO) have been misidentified as hard copy books. Similarly, EEBO attributes both surviving copies to 1680 (only the British Library’s copy is dated on its title page); the 1685 date which periodically appears on WorldCat and elsewhere appears to be a mis-attribution. This is not the only monstrous birth pamphlet to have merited at least two separate print runs. See for example: Anonymous, *The True Portraiture of a Prodigious Monster* (London: 1655); Anonymous, *The Trve Portritvre of a Prodigiovs Monster* ([London?: 1655]; Anonymous, *Pride’s Fall; or, a Warning for All English Women ...* ([London: c. 1674]); Anonymous, *Pride’s Fall; or, a Warning for All English Women ...* ([London: 1700?]); Anonymous, *Account of a Most Surprizing Savage Girl* ([London?]: 1798); Anonymous, *An Account of a Most Surprising Savage Girl* (Edinburgh: [1800?]). Anonymous, *A True Relation of a Monstrous Female-Child*, title page, 1. Neither the BL’s copy itself nor the catalogue entry gives any reason to assert, as Jan Bondeson does, that either Sloane or Pepys once owned this particular pamphlet. J[an] Bondeson, “The Isle-Brewers Conjoined Twins of 1680,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 86 (February 1993): 106-9; 107.

¹⁹² Anonymous, *A True Relation of a Monstrous Female-Child*, 3. A[ndrew] P[aschall], “A Letter from Mr. A. P. in Somersetshire, giving an Account of a strange Birth that in May last happened at Hilbrewers in that County”, *Philosophical Collections*, vol. 2 (London, 1681), 21.

was triple in bigness to what is usual; ... [and] the Navel string was very great”.¹⁹³ In a letter to the Royal Society of London, Paschall described the infants at length. They were attached from the navel to “beneath the Breasts”, and “each hath Nipples in their proper place respecting the several Bodies, but one of each is seen before, the other behind, respecting the whole”. When “laid supine”, the girls seemed “to have but one Body where joyned; but when turned there is a deep furrow tween both”; aside from the shared torso, each sister possessed her own complete body. Paschall appears to have been surprised that, “though both females”, their parents named them after the early Christian disciples Aquila and Priscilla, a husband and wife who Paul the Apostle had converted on his travels.¹⁹⁴ What Paschall did not know was that Aquila was named after Richard Herring’s sister, and so perhaps naming her twin “Priscilla” seemed apt.¹⁹⁵

Paschall said that he “was yesterday [29 May] to see the strange Birth”, which implies that he traveled to Isle Brewers to view the children, rather than that they were brought to him to be baptized, as Jan Bondeson asserts. Moreover, it seems likely that Paschall would have mentioned having baptized the twins had he been responsible, as he discussed them in two separate letters, written years apart.¹⁹⁶ The anonymous author of

¹⁹³ I thank David Cressy for confirming the identification of “A.P.” as Andrew Paschall. Paschall also mentioned having seen the twins on 29 May 1680 in a letter to “Dr. James” detailing the lead-up to Monmouth’s Rebellion in Somerset. Specifically, Paschall identified the birth as a “sign” and a “forerunner” of the event, along with such occurrences as an earthquake in January 1681 and several parhelia (also known as sun dogs) in December 1684. Paschall’s letter to Dr. James is quoted in full in Samuel Heywood, *A Vindication of Mr. Fox’s History of the Early Part of the Reign of James the Second* (London, 1811), Appendix 4: xxix-xliv; citations xxix-xxx. Paschall, “A Letter from Mr. A. P. in *Somersetshire*,” 21. Private Correspondence with David Cressy (Distinguished Professor Emeritus, The Ohio State University), 8/19/13.

¹⁹⁴ Paschall, “A Letter from Mr. A. P. in *Somersetshire*,” 21. *King James Bible*, Acts 18:1-28.

¹⁹⁵ TNA C 22/89/11, 13r.

¹⁹⁶ Neither Paschall’s letter to the Royal Society nor that written to Dr. James mentions such an event (nor does Hugh Norris’s account of the twins’ birth, which Bondeson cites). Paschall, “A Letter from Mr. A. P.

The Strange and Dreadful Relation of a Horrible Tempest (in which the twins were a secondary wonder) claimed that “A Day, or Two after the Delivery, the Parents were advised by several, to have the Child (or Children so united) to be baptized; the which, (according to the ceremony of the Church) was performed with Godfather and Godmothers”.¹⁹⁷ As with the Hungarian twins Helen and Judith (see Chapter 4 below), Priscilla and Aquila were recognizable as individuals, each possessing her own soul: “all believe notwithstanding this wondrous Conjunction that it contains two dividual [*sic*] souls”.¹⁹⁸ If Priscilla and Aquila did indeed receive baptism, then, this almost certainly occurred twice: once for each head.

Interestingly, Paschall was the only witness to describe the twins as joined at the front.¹⁹⁹ The anonymous pamphlet *A True Relation of a Monstrous Female-Child* stated twice that the sisters were attached “Back to Back”, as indeed they appear in the woodcut adorning the pamphlet’s title page (Figure 63).²⁰⁰ In both *The Strange and Dreadful Relation of a Horrible Tempest* and *A True Relation of Two Prodigious Births*, Aquila and Priscilla were described as “joined together by the bodies, side to side”, “from the Arm-pits to the Hip-Bone”, descriptions that match those given by witnesses such as

in *Somersetshire*,” 21, emphasis mine. Bondeson, “The Isle-Brewers Conjoined Twins,” 106. Hugh Norris, “A Piece of Delft Ware with a West-Country History,” in *The Western Antiquary; or, Notebook for Devon, Cornwall, and Somerset*, vol. 7, June 1887-June 1888, ed. W.H.K. Wright (Plymouth, London, and Exeter: 1888), 111-12.

¹⁹⁷ Anonymous, *The Strange and Dreadful Relation of a Horrible Tempest ... As Likewise, Another Strange Relation of a Monstrous Child* ([London?, 1680?]), 3.

¹⁹⁸ Anonymous, *A True Relation of a Monstrous Female-Child*, 3.

¹⁹⁹ Jan Bondeson ignores Paschall’s description when he asserts, based solely on *A True Relation of a Monstrous Female-Child*, that the twins were attached at the back. Bondeson, “The Isle-Brewers Conjoined Twins,” 107.

²⁰⁰ Anonymous, *A True Relation of a Monstrous Female-Child*, 2-3.

Mary Blewett in their depositions.²⁰¹ The creator of a red clay plate commemorating the twins' birth likely read one of the latter accounts, as he also depicted the girls as being joined at the side, from shoulder to hip (see Figure 64). However, as the Royal Society's informants tended to provide reliable information, and the level of detail provided by Paschall suggests that he was a careful witness, Aquila and Priscilla's point of conjunction seems unclear.

This difference could potentially be explained by the source type in which each description occurs. Paschall's account began as a letter which was likely printed more-or-less verbatim, as it was not altered from its original first person narrative: "I Was yesterday to see the strange Birth at *Hilbrewers* in our County".²⁰² Assuming that Paschall was a careful witness – and he seems to have seen the twins only the day before writing to the Royal Society, suggesting that this is indeed the case – then the description as printed in the *Philosophical Collections* was likely anatomically accurate. Mary Blewett's account, on the other hand, comes to us through dual mediators: the Chancery clerk who recorded her deposition and the lapse of time (two years) since Blewett had viewed the children. The second interrogatory, quoted above, specifies that the children were "growinge togeather in their sides", a phrase the Chancery clerks lifted directly from Richard Herring's original plea; presumably the father would have been familiar

²⁰¹ Anonymous, *The Strange and Dreadful Relation of a Horrible Tempest*, 3. Anonymous, *A True Relation of Two Prodigious Births ...* (London, 1680), single page. For example, see TNA C 22/89/11, 12r.

²⁰² Paschall, "A Letter from Mr. A. P. in *Somersetshire*," 21.

with his own daughters' appearance.²⁰³ Blewett's own deposition, likewise stating that they were "growinge togeather in theire sides", may therefore provide more evidence of Chancery's formulaic recording practices than of the twins' actual physical appearance.²⁰⁴ Additionally, six witnesses used variations on the phrase "Side to Side" to describe the twins – Mary Blewett, Joane Budge, John Day, George Stuckey, George Taylor, and Thomas Winsor – and none said they were attached at the front.²⁰⁵ However, an interpretation combining Paschall's and the other witnesses' descriptions may be the most likely. Perhaps rather than being attached either strictly ventrally or laterally, the point of conjunction was instead at an angle to the center line of their bodies, which would explain how, according to Paschall, they could have a specific configuration which was face-up: "They, laid supine, seem to have but one Body where joyned; but when turned there is a deep furrow tween both".²⁰⁶ Rather than a case of incorrect witness accounts, this would instead be an example of different modes of describing the same physical abnormality.

The story of Aquila and Priscilla Herring's lives and deaths, or at least the versions of the story as related by witnesses thereof, comes from a case pursued in the Court of Chancery, a London equity court originally founded to counteract "the standard procedures and practices of existing courts, especially the common law courts" which left petitioners "unjustly at risk or unable to secure what was rightfully due them". As will

²⁰³ TNA C 6/6/94, ff. 2, 4. TNA C 22/88/17, Court of Chancery: Six Clerks Office: Country Depositions, Series II. Six Clerk Division: Collins. Herring v. Walrond, 7r. This interrogatory was directed at witnesses for both the complainant and the defendant.

²⁰⁴ TNA C 22/89/11, 12r, 19r.

²⁰⁵ TNA C 22/89/11, 12r, 14v, 15v, 16r-v.

²⁰⁶ Paschall, "A Letter from Mr. A. P. in *Somersetshire*," 21.

become clear, *Herring v. Walrond* was just such a case, as the twins' parents Richard and Mary Herring were seeking justice against a man who was not simply their landlord but also their local Justice of the Peace, Sir Henry Walrond. The Chancery process involved registering an original petition in common English detailing the complaint and requesting relief, followed by the recording of witnesses' testimonies out of court by officials or commissioned agents of Chancery. The Lord Chancellor or the Master of the Rolls would then access the evidence and render a decision, though a final decision does not appear to survive for *Herring v. Walrond*.²⁰⁷

The original plaintiff – or “complainant” in the jargon of the depositions – was Richard Herring, though by the time that court clerks were taking witness statements in 1682, Richard was dead, and his wife Mary had taken over pursuing the case. On 6 July 1680, just a month and a half after Aquila and Priscilla Herring's birth, Richard entered a plea in Chancery regarding the alleged kidnapping of his daughters. The primary defendant, though there were actually quite a number of individuals mentioned in Herring's petition, was Sir Henry Walrond, whom Herring maintained had kidnapped his daughters, put them on show, and caused their death through neglect, not to mention having declined to share the significant profits that the squire had enjoyed from showing the girls to all comers. According to Herring's petition, after the twins' birth on 19 May 1680, “greate numbers of people farr and neere dayly ... resort[ed] to your Orators house out of their curiosity to see and behold the said children (Many of which gave your Orator (who is a poore M[an] and Lived by his Labour) such moneyes as they thought

²⁰⁷ Henry Horwitz, *A Guide to Chancery Equity Records and Proceedings 1600-1800* (Public Record Office Handbook No. 27. Kew, Surrey: PRO Publications, 1998), 1, 3-4.

fitt”, totaling three to four pounds daily, an astronomical sum when compared to the 12-16d. a day a laborer might have expected to make in the mid-to-late seventeenth century. Unfortunately for the Herring family, this newfound lucre brought the children to Walrond’s attention, who “out of an evill and covetous designe”, in Herring’s words, hatched the plan “of defrauding your Orator of his said children and the benefit thereof”. Herring related that on 23 or 24 May, Walrond invited Herring to the house of Lawrence Brome, where the two men plied Herring with alcohol and encouraged him to sign at least one document which the self-described “illiterate” Herring did not, and indeed could not, read. Herring claimed that they had succeeded in getting him sufficiently tipsy – thanks to “too much entertainment” being “forced vpon him” – that he could not remember whether he signed “one or more writing or Agreement”. After the fact, Walrond’s “confederates” informed Herring that the father had signed away “the said two children to show them for gaine” as well as “some bond with a greate penalty” if Herring were to continue showing the children on his own.²⁰⁸

Six days later, on 29 or 30 May, Herring asserted that Walrond led a group of around seventeen men and women to Herring’s house, which they entered “without his or his wifes leave or consent And then and there without and against the consent or likeing of your Orator or his wife who apposed [*sic*] the same tooke away your Orators said children from their mothers brest and out of her Armes they being stronger and more in number And carryed them to his the said Mr Walronds owne house”.²⁰⁹ Shortly

²⁰⁸ TNA C 6/6/94, f. 4. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, 261, 269, 288. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, 48.

²⁰⁹ At various points, the petition lists John Brome (alternately spelled Broome), Christopher Brome, Lawrence Brome, Francis Brome, Phillipp Brome and his wife Martha, Dorothy Brome, Anne Brome, John

thereafter, the children were moved again, this time to Montacute, the family home of the Justice of the Peace Sir Edward Phelips. Herring claimed that the two squires proceeded to charge half a crown per head to view the twins (five times the *6d.* average paid by visitors to Herring's house), making not less than ten pounds a day in this manner, for a period of three weeks, at which point, "about the eighteenth or nineteenth of June", the girls died as a result of "continuall shewing and removeing from place to place and wanting their said Mothers breasts and afterwards sucking of severall breasts". However, not even death returned Richard Herring's children to him, as Herring alleged that Walrond and Phelips had the girls' bodies "artificially preserved" and continued showing them, even threatening "that they will carey the dead bodyes of the said Children beyond the Seas to expose them to publiq[ue] view for moneyes". Herring's grievances, then, centered around four complaints: that he was tricked into signing away his daughters, that they were kidnapped from his house via mob action, that he had not been given his fair share of the profits from showing the girls, and that, since they had died, he was being denied their preserved bodies for either proper burial or for continuing to show himself.²¹⁰

A few points of clarification, though they do not appear in Herring's plea, will help to contextualize the events and persons described therein. Lawrence Brome, at whose house Herring signed some sort of "Agreement" with Walrond, was Walrond's son-in-law, having married Walrond's daughter Christabella (or Christobella), thereby

Perry and his wife Phillipp(a), John Burnell, William Dorchester, Gyles Doutney (or Dowdney), Robert Wills, William Taylor, James Wood, John Wood (this may have been a mis-transcription for *James*), and George Stuckey. TNA C 6/6/94, f. 4.

²¹⁰ TNA C 6/6/94, f. 4.

cementing the family loyalty that appeared in Herring's petition, when he alleged that a large number of the Bromes participated in his daughters' kidnapping.²¹¹ Sir Edward Phelips was the great-grandson of his namesake the Speaker of the House of Commons, who built Montacute House in 1601; twelve miles from Isle Brewers, this is the house at which Walrond and Phelips were displaying the Herring twins.²¹²

Unsurprisingly, Walrond told a different version of the story in his answer to Herring's complaint. "Within the space of Six howres" of the children's birth, "the Complainant beinge a poore Tenant" of Walrond's, the squire sent to the family "severall cloathes for the cloathing of the said Children", a nurse "reputed to bee very skillfull in chirurgery to bee very often with the said Children to preserue their liues", and further monetary "charity" to support the Herring family. As a result of this help, Walrond asserted, it was Herring who approached him at Lawrence Brome's house with the proposal that Walrond should "take [Herring's] said two Children into [Walrond's] care and custody and allow [Herring] one eighte parte of such profit and monyes as shall bee made and gained by exposeinge them to publicke view and to maintayne mee and my wife and all other my Children now liveinge dureinge the lives of my said two Children". Moreover, Walrond recounted that Herring had specified that "in case they should dye and there bodyes could be preserved soe as to continue the shewing of them after their deaths", Herring likewise requested only an eighth of the profits earned thereby. Walrond agreed, and the two men drew up a contract on the spot. "For the Satisfecton of

²¹¹ R[ichard] Coleman-Smith and T[erry] Pearson, *Excavations in the Donyatt Potteries* (Chichester, Sussex: Phillimore, 1988), 179.

²¹² Coleman-Smith and Pearson, *Excavations in the Donyatt Potteries*, 179. Rebecca S. More, "Sir Edward Phelips (c.1555–1614)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 18 September 2012. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.lib.ohio-state.edu/view/article/22089>. TNA C 6/6/94, f. 4.

this Honorable Court”, Walrond recited “verbatim” the “Articles agreed on”, though he was unable to produce the document itself as it remained in Lawrence Brome’s possession. Dated 26 May 1680, just a week after the twins’ birth, the contract as dictated by Walrond stated that he would “maintaine” Herring’s entire family “dureinge the naturall lives of Priscila and Aquila his daughters beinge conioyned” and would moreover provide Herring with one eighth of the profits which came from publicly showing the girls; if they were to die, Walrond retained sole rights to the “disposeinge of theire bodyes”. In Walrond’s version of events, Herring was sober at the time of signing, and Herring had himself carefully read the document before signing and sealing it. Moreover, the contract had been endorsed by six witnesses – “Christopher Brome John Pierce Lawrence Brome Anne Brome Frances Brome & Dorothy Brome” – and Walrond and Herring had “mutually oblidge[d] themselves each to other in Twenty thowsand pounds of lawfull English mony”, an extremely large amount of money that Herring could never have produced.²¹³

Walrond then went on the offense, accusing Herring of trying to “defraude this defendandt” by “enter[ing] into and mak[ing] a new agreement” with “one Mrs Anne Jennings” regarding the children to whom Walrond was “soe intituled” by his own contract with Herring. Upon being “soe informed” of Herring’s intentions, Walrond did what the contract rightly entitled him to do: “take and receiue the said Childern into his care and keepinge”. After “two or three dayes”, however, Walrond “hath bin credibly informed & verily beleives” that a small mob appeared outside of Walrond’s house in his

²¹³ TNA C 6/6/94, f. 3.

absence, threatening to “pull downe” the walls “and to kill this Defendants servants”. As a result, Walrond “applied himselfe” to fellow Justice of the Peace Sir Edward Phelips and moved Aquila and Priscilla to Phelips’s house, where they remained and were put on show “till theire deaths which was about a fortnight thereafter”. Walrond and Phelips appear to have had some remunerative agreement regarding the twins, though Walrond refused to comment upon it, having been “advised itt noe wise concernes” Herring’s original complaint. In regards to the money made by showing the girls, Walrond maintained that the venture had cost him more than he had made: he had hired “a Midwife for her dayly care and attendance on the said Children dureinge theire lives” (five pounds) and a different woman to treat the children’s infected umbilical cord (a further five pounds), paid for the license to expose the children to view in London, “And paid & secured to be paid One hundred pounds more att least in charges to withstand [Herring’s] violence and to imbalme and preserue the said Children and to prepare other materials & necessaries in order to expose the said Children to publick view”. Moreover, Walrond asserted that he was out a feather bed, pillow, and bed linens which he had sent to Herring’s house “soone after the birth of the said Children” and which Herring now refused to return. Nevertheless, Walrond claimed to have from “tyme to tyme ... caused a full eighth parte of all the said profits beinge the sum of Six pounds and ten shillings to bee tendered to the said Complainant which hee refused to accept of or receiue”. At the end of his statement, Walrond “prayeth to bee dismissed out of this Honorable Court with

his reasonable Costs and Charge in this behalfe most wrongfully sustained”; in essence, Walrond pleaded innocent and simply asked to be reimbursed for court costs.²¹⁴

Herring’s and Walrond’s accounts of the events that transpired in May and June 1680 are clearly disparate, though they do agree on the basics: there was some sort of signed agreement between Herring and Walrond concerning putting the conjoined twins Aquila and Priscilla on display, the girls were removed from their home by Walrond and thence transported to the house of Edward Phelps where they subsequently died, and their bodies had been preserved in order to continue showing them for profit. However, the witnesses’ depositions collected by the court clerks John Wyne, Thomas Rogers, Nicholas Marshall, and John Stocker in and around Isle Brewers in 1682 help to nuance the affidavits and fill in some of the gaps, though retaining a bias toward two disparate versions of events.

Even though hundreds of curious county residents thronged to view Aquila and Priscilla on a daily basis, only 52 witnesses gave depositions to the Chancery clerks sent to Somerset in 1682. Of these, 26 spoke on the behalf of the complainant Mary Herring, 23 were produced for Sir Henry Walrond’s defense, and three were interviewed on the behalf of both plaintiff and defendant. The witnesses were split at 33 male and 19 female and aged from 18 to 74 years.²¹⁵ Most of the men worked in the wool industry, broadly defined, with seven identifying as husbandmen, five as serge-weavers or -makers, one cloth-worker, one wool comber, and two tanners. Of the remaining men, one was a squire, eight identified themselves as gentlemen, six were yeomen, and one each was a

²¹⁴ TNA C 6/6/94, f. 3.

²¹⁵ The mean age was 37 years old, the median 34.5, and the mode 40.

cooper and a “Hellier” (a slate- or tile-worker).²¹⁶ With the exception of the midwife herself, the remaining women were identified by their marital status: nine wives, three widows, and six spinsters (Table 2). The witnesses came from as close as Isle Brewers itself and as far afield as Burton, which was 23 miles away, though all witnesses lived in Somerset (Figure 65).²¹⁷ This court case thus provides a snapshot of the crowd who might have attended any given monster show (such as those in London mentioned in Chapter 2). These numbers suggest that crowds may have routinely contained more men than women, which would certainly make sense at least in the case of *pregnant* women, as no one would want to risk such a sight impressing itself on an unborn child (see the Introduction for a discussion of maternal impression). Otherwise, however, a monstrous birth’s spectators would have been demographically varied, with the apparent exception of children, who were not mentioned in any depositions.²¹⁸

Broadly speaking, witnesses for the Herrings or Henry Walrond seem to have chosen sides and deposed accordingly. Walrond’s supporters consisted, among others, of his in-laws the Bromes (Anne, Christopher, Cicilia, Frances, Lawrence – though not his wife and Walrond’s daughter Christobella – Martha, and William); a number of Walrond’s servants and underlings (John Burnell, William Dorchester, Bartholomew Parker, John Perry – though he was also a witness for the complainant – Alice Pullen, and Mary Wood); the nurse who Walrond hired to give the children “suck” (Joane Budge, a

²¹⁶ TNA C 22/89/11, 10v.

²¹⁷ 20 witnesses lived in Isle Brewers; six in Curry Mallet; five in Whitelackington; three in Chard; two each in Crewkerne, Taunton, Wrantage, and Ivelchester; and one each in Burton, Swell, Kingsbury Episcopi, Ruishton, Shepton Beauchamp, Puckington, Knowle, Curry Rivel, Isle Abbots, and “[_]yeson”.

²¹⁸ Of course, Richard and Mary Herring’s older children would have viewed their conjoined sisters, but they neither traveled nor paid for the privilege.

witness for both parties); and the midwife whose fee Walrond likewise paid (Sarah Pearce, also called as a witness for the plaintiff).²¹⁹ Those neither related nor beholden to Walrond who deposed on his behalf came from a wide variety of backgrounds (from husbandman to gentleman) and ages (18 to 64), though most were residents of Isle Brewers (with an additional two each from Curry Mallet and Ivelchester). While those either related to or employed by Walrond might have intrinsic motivations to craft their “fictions” to match his, eleven witnesses for the defense do not appear to have had such personal ties to Walrond.

Twelve individuals appear to have been in Lawrence Brome’s house – though not necessarily in his parlor – when Walrond and Herring signed their “Articles of Agreement”, all of whom were either witnesses for the defense or did not depose at all.²²⁰ These witnesses agreed with Walrond’s assertions that Herring “came vnto this deponents [Lawrence Brome’s] house” and “desired” that Walrond should take “Herrings monstrous Children ... into his Custody & to assist him in the shewing & exposing of them to publick view for that hee himselfe was not capable of doeing it alone”. Lawrence’s account of the “Articles” signed between Herring and Walrond corresponds with Walrond’s account of them, and Lawrence further deposed that “the paper writeing ... now p[ro]duced & Shewn forth to this Deponent ... are the same Articles ... that were

²¹⁹ Present in Herring’s complaint but missing from the witness list were John Brome (deceased), Phillipp Brome, Dorothy Brome, Gyles Doutney/Dowdney, William Taylor, Robert Wills (deceased), and James and/or John Wood. George Stuckey deposed on behalf of the complainant. Mary Wood’s deposition identifies her as “produced on the p[ar]te & behalfe of the Complainant”, but this appears to have been a mistake on the clerk’s part, as her deposition is in the middle of a series of witnesses for the defense and on a page labeled “[Ex parte] Defendant”. TNA C 22/89/11, 14v. TNA C 22/88/17, f. 2.

²²⁰ Ann Bawler, Elianor Bawler, Anne Brome, Christopher Brome, Cicilia Brome, Dorothy Brome, Francis Brome, Lawrence Brome, Elizabeth Fankaer, and John Peirce were present in the parlor, while William Dorchester and Robert Dow were elsewhere.

soe Signed”; apparently the clerks had received the agreement sometime after Walrond’s original response, though it has not survived with the rest of the case. Moreover, Lawrence maintained that “at the time of [Herring’s] sealeing ... the said Articles hee was noe wayes distempered or disordered with drinke but very sober & free from the same & was in noe manner forced or threatned to seale the said Articles”. According to William Dorchester, when Herring left the parlor shortly thereafter, Herring “declared vnto this deponent that hee was very Joyfull & well contented & pleased that he had made such an Agreement with the defendant Mr Walrond concerning his said monstrous Children”.²²¹

This is in marked contrast to the accounts told by witnesses to the complainant, all of whom repeated a version of the story told to them by Herring himself before his death. Mary Jennings and Sir John Speke, daughter and son to Sir George Speke of Whitelackington, both related how “shortly after the time that the Complainants two Monstrous Children now in Question were (as twas reported) taken from her”, Herring applied himself to George Speke, professing that he had believed the agreement he had signed with Walrond was “a Peticon to the Kinge” for a patent which was required in order to show the children for money. Jennings further related that “she hath heard the said Richard Herringe seuerall times to Relate the same thinges in Effecte ... & likewise saith that a Little before the Death of the said Herringe he beinge then Sicke of the Sicknesse whereof he Dyed said to this Deponent that he had taken soe many Journyes & heates and Colds about the said Children that he believed [itt would] shortly be the Death

²²¹ TNA C 22/89/11, 4v-5r, 8v.

of him”. One of these “Journyes” was presumably to London, where Herring again applied himself to John Speke, “(this deponent being then a Member of the house of Comons) & Spake to this deponent of his the Said Herringes peticoneing the house of Lords for getting againe the Custody of the Said Children”. Whether or not Herring ever pursued such a petition is not mentioned in any other testimonies, but he seems at some point to have received “a Warrant from the Lord Cheife Justice of the Kinges Bench ... Demandinge of the Plaintiffs Monstrous Children ... to be Deliuered vnto ye Complainant theire Mother”, as William Giles reported that he, William Walden, Francis [____], John Thorne, and Mary Herring herself rode “to Montacute” to demand return of the children, who were still alive at the time.²²² Why Mary rode out on this errand instead of Richard, especially as so many witnesses testified to her perpetual ill health, is unclear, as is why there is no mention of the warrant in Richard Herring’s original plea.

In addition to Jennings and John Speke, a number of other witnesses also repeated parts of the story as told to them by Herring. Thomas Tayler rather colorfully deposed that Walrond had pulled Herring in “as a Sheepe to the Slaughter” by telling Herring that he could not “expose the Said Children to Publique view without a Licence

²²² Walrond referred to an “Anne Jennings” in his original response to Herring’s plea; presumably, this was a mistake on Walrond’s part, as the only “Jennings” mentioned by either John Speke or Mary Jennings is Mary herself. TNA C 22/88/17, 6v. TNA C 22/89/11, 16v-17r. Neither Richard nor Mary Herring appear anywhere in *State Papers Online*, nor is the court case mentioned by either Roger Morrice or Anchitel Grey. Though Henry Walrond, Edward Phelps, Lawrence Brome, and the parish of Isle Brewers all show up in *State Papers Online*, none of these references relate to this court case. However, Henry Walrond was pursuing several cases around this same time, the latter two of which involved other of his Isle Brewers neighbors (C 6/66/22 in 1675, C 6/66/33 in 1679, and C 6/66/39). Roger Morrice, *The Entering Book of Roger Morrice, 1677-1691*, general editor Mark Goldie, 7 volumes (The Boydell Press: Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2007-09), vol. 2 (*The Reign of Charles II, 1677-85*) edited by John Spurr. Anchitel Grey, “Grey’s Debates of the House of Commons”, *British History Online*, vols. 7-8 (1769) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.aspx?pubid=266> and <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.aspx?pubid=267>. Accessed 22 June 2013.

or Patent vnder ye Kings Great Seale which could Cost a Great Deale of Money to procur: And that he the Said Mr Walrond was well acquainted with the Kinge or to that Effect & could with more Ease procure such Licence or Patent vnder the Great Seale If he the Said Richard Herringe would put his hand & seale to a Paper writeing which the Said Mr Walrond brought him”. Herring apparently further complained to several of his neighbors about the circumstances under which he had been convinced to sign the agreement: in Nicholas []are’s words, Walrond “vrge[d] the Said Herringe to drinke severall Glasses of Beere which the Said Herringe refuseing to drinke the Defendant afterwards dranke to him the Kings Health the Queens Health the duke of Yorkes health & two Glasses more to the health of Aquilla & Priscilla the Said Herrings two Monstrous Children All which healthes the Said Herringe did Accordingly drinke”.²²³

In a clear demonstration that gossip about Richard Herring’s intentions toward his agreement with Walrond was floating around the parish, Martha Brome deposed that she had heard that Herring “was Endeavouring or did designe to make voyd” the agreement he had entered into with Walrond. “Thereupon this Deponent advised the said Richard Herring that if hee had made any such Agreement that hee should performe the same as he ought to doe according to the fiveteenth Psalme although hee did loose thereby”. This Psalm reads in part, “Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? ... He that backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doeth evil to his neighbor, nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbor”. Herring rather curtly replied “that hee knew and vnderstood the scripture as well as [Martha Brome] or any other” and further stated that “hee was advised by some of

²²³ TNA C 22/88/17, 5r-v.

the best of the parish that the Agreement which hee had made with the Defendant Mr. Walrond concerning his said Children was good for the Defendant Mr. Walrond but not soe good or beneficiall for him”. Whether “the best of the parish” was meant to refer to the Spekes or to residents of Isle Brewers with whom Herring had been discussing his options is unclear; perhaps Martha Brome herself did not know all of the individuals involved in the bits of gossip she had heard. Anne Brome had likewise heard “a generall Rumor spread abroad that Mrs Speake of Whitelackington had hired seuerall persons to come & take away the said monstrous Children by force out of the house of ... Walrond or to beate downe the said house”, a series of events which might not have been orchestrated by any of the Spekes but which Walrond had also cited as reason for having removed the twins from the Herrings’s house when he did.²²⁴

According to a variety of witnesses, while Aquila and Priscilla remained in their parents’ custody, they proved highly lucrative. The entry fee charged by Herring to view the children varied depending upon each audience member’s socioeconomic status. “Many of the meaner sorte” were required to pay upon entry, “some a penny, some twopence, some a Groate & some Sixepence apeece & one Threepence”, with the standard seeming to have been sixpence (about half a day’s wages for a laborer), particularly after several doorkeepers employed by Walrond took control and imposed a uniform entry fee. Conversely, a party consisting of George Speke, Mary Jennings, John Speke and his wife Ratherme, Mrs. Phillip Berkeley, and a servant were allowed to view the children at their leisure, only “after seeinge of them” paying whatever they saw

²²⁴ TNA C 22/88/17, ff. 2-4. *King James Bible*, Psalms 15.

fit. Jennings, Berkeley, and Ratherme Speke each gave a shilling a piece to the nurse and midwife, George Speke paid Mary Herring five shillings, and Jennings paid a further half crown (enough money to buy a new pair of shoes) to Richard Herring “for holdeinge of theire horses att the Doore”; as their servant had likewise gone inside to view the children, Herring seems to have been a convenient substitute. According to Richard Herring’s sister Aquilla Taylor, when “William Portman Knight of Bath & Barronett Came thither & saw them” he was sufficiently impressed that “after he had seene them he Gave Ten Shillinges to the said Richard Herringe & puttinge his hand vppon the said Herringe said vnto him My freinde thou wille be in a short time in thy Estate a better man then my selfe”!²²⁵

Even though the majority of comers paid only a few pence per head, these entry fees added up quickly. In his original complaint, Herring estimated that while the children were still in his care, he had “received about the value of three and four pounds a day and each day more then another”. The number as reported by John Perry was closer to £4-5 per day (enough to pay Herring’s yearly rent several times over), with a maximum single day’s take, so far as he was aware, of “Eleven pounds & Sixepence”, which numbers were also mentioned by Walrond in his examination. Though most of the money was collected in “White money & farthings”, George Taylor reported that he had heard from the midwife Sarah Pearce that Mary Herring had in her possession “a Little Boxe full of money ... almost full Which [Pearce] Conceived Amounted to neare an

²²⁵ TNA C 22/89/11, 13v, 15r, 17r. Gregory Clark, “The Condition of the Working-Class in England, 1209-2004,” *Journal of Political Economy* 113, no. 6 (December, 2005), 1307-1340. Gregory Clark, “The Long March of History: Farm Wages, Population, and Economic Growth, England 1209-1869,” *Economic History Review* 60, no. 1 (New Series, February 2007), 97-135. Gregory Clark, “The Price History of English Agriculture, 1209-1914,” *Research in Economic History* 22 (2004), 41-124.

hundred pounds”. Indeed, if the crowds were as big as witnesses claimed – between 300 and 400 within “a quarter of a Mile” of the Herring cottage according to Walter Baker and up to an astounding 600 or 700 in a single day in George Taylor’s estimation – and if they were charging sixpence a head, the Herrings could theoretically have been earning between £7 10s. and £17 10s. per day. Profits in this range easily explain how Samuel Garnish might “verily beleiveth that had the Children remained in the Custody” of their parents “vntill the time of the said Childrens death” that the Herrings “might have raised Two or Three hundred pounds by Exposeinge of the said Children to view daylye”. Even George Stuckey’s higher estimate of “Foure or Five hundred pounds” seems well within the range of possibility. Indeed, for a “Poore Cottager” with “nothings to Maintaine them withall but his Labour”, such an impressive financial boon must have appeared to be a godsend, at least once Richard Herring got over his fear of the “Judgment God had then sent him in the said Children (as hee then conceived) saying that hee knew not what to doe with them”. Clearly, Herring figured out quite rapidly “what to doe” with Aquila and Priscilla.²²⁶

The most graphic depositions of the trial were perhaps those given on behalf of the plaintiff and describing the day that Walrond, accompanied by a number of family members and retainers, went to Herring’s house to retrieve the children. On “Whitsun Monday” or 10 June 1680, John Verryer recalled that he had been in the room with “ye

²²⁶ Paschall provided a similar estimate that the “multitudes” of eager visitors numbered “(sometimes 500 in a day)”. TNA C 6/6/94, f. 4. TNA C 22/89/11, 8r, 14r-15v, 16v. TNA C 22/641/26, Court of Chancery: Six Clerks Office: Country Depositions, Series II. Six Clerk Division: Mitford. Herring v. Walrond, f. 2. Paschall, “A Letter from Mr. A. P. in *Somersetshire*,” 21. Clark, “The Condition of the Working-Class,” 1307-1340. Clark, “The Long March of History,” 97-135. Gregory Clark, “The Price History of English Agriculture,” 41-124.

Monstrous Children” when Walrond, *et al.*, entered and “bad[e] him goe forth of the Said house”. Looking in the window thereafter, he heard either Walrond or Lawrence Brome declare “that they were come for their Children”, whereupon either Dorothy or Anne Brome then “Endeavoured to gett” the children from Mary’s arms. Upon finding that Mary “was too stronge for her”, Anne asked for more help, and two of the men accompanying Walrond held Mary’s hands, while Dorothy took the children from Mary’s arms, apparently with enough force that Mary cried out, “the Passion of God doe not breake my Children Asunder”! Other accounts told by witnesses for the complainant were similar. Thomas Roew repeated Mary’s insistence that “she never bought [her children] with Gould or Silver nor would ever part from them”. Aquilla Taylor, Richard Herring’s sister, described at length how she Mary “Cryed out to this Deponent sayinge Aquilla for Gods sake come & helpe me they will take my Children”, which Taylor was restrained from doing first by Dorothy Brome and then by Robert Wills. When Richard Herring, who had been out of the house at the time, returned “& heareinge that the said Children were Carryed away he the said Herringe was like a Distracted man” Accounts of the same event as told by witnesses for the defense were much calmer. The midwife Sarah Pearce was “in another vnderroome next adjoining” the bedroom where Mary and the children were laying, but “shee this deponent did not see heare nor obserue any force or violence to be vsed there by any one ... and doth beleive yf there had been at that tyme any force or violence vsed there shee this deponent should have heard & known of the same”. Lawrence Brome likewise deposed that “the said receiveing & takeing & carrying away of the said Children ... was as farr as this Deponent did obserue in a very

peaceable & quiet manner and without any force or violence or other disturbance”.²²⁷ Clearly, this was one of the most divisive episodes described by witnesses for either party.

Witnesses for the defense asserted that, once they came under Walrond’s care, Aquila and Priscilla received the best care money could buy. Sarah Pearce remembered hearing Walrond “once say that hee beleived hee was out about two hundred pounds thereabouts & heard him once reckon vp the particlars of fowerscore pounds or thereabouts expended by him in & about the said monstrous Children”, including the fees paid to “severall Physitions Chirurgions & Apothecaries to Imploy their skill about the said Children in the tyme of their sickness there as namely one Doctor Neville one Mr Reynolds one Mr Game an Apothecary & as this deponent beleiveth one Doctor Heymor”. Moreover, Pearce asserted that “in her Judgment there were noe meanes neglected that could possibly preserue the said Children alive”. Christopher and Lawrence Brome likewise claimed that Walrond was out “noe lesse then two hundred pounds in the whole”, both from care of the twins and the “Charity & Assistance” that Walrond extended to Richard and Mary Herring “as well after as before the birth”. In any case, the children died and were preserved “by one Mr Warren (as [William Dorchester] takes his name to be)”. Interestingly, Nicholas []are, a witness for the plaintiff, asserted that Mary Herring had told him that she had had “things sent her from London that would preserve” the bodies of the twins “for Twenty yeares”, indicating that

²²⁷ TNA C 22/88/17, 5r, 6r. TNA C 22/89/11, 1v, 5r, 13r-v.

even their mother had not expected them to live and wanted to continue showing them for as long as the embalming process would allow.²²⁸

At least one account of the trial – or perhaps of Herring’s petition before the House of Lords, if that ever happened – seems likely to have been published in order for the Quaker John Whiting to have repeated details about the case in his 1715 memoir of “the Sufferings we (the People called *Quakers*) underwent from Cruel and Merciless Men”, aptly titled *Persecution Expos’d*. Within this nearly 300-page catalogue of injustice, Whiting described how Walrond, who he called “the greatest Persecutor [of Quakers] in the County of *Somerset*” “took away a Twin-Child, or Children (that grew together) from a poor Woman, to make a Show of them for Money; and kept them till they died, to their great Shame and Dishonour in the Country, for which [Walrond and Phelps] were Prosecuted in the *Crown-Office*”.²²⁹ As none of the trial details appeared in Paschall’s letter to the Royal Society nor in any of the three extant pamphlets, Whiting must have either found his information elsewhere or fabricated additional details to make his version of the story more compelling. Whiting also asserted that this “Gang of *Brooms* ... help’d to devour [Walrond’s] Estate”, which led to the “sinking State” that convinced Walrond to kidnap the twins in the first place. Whiting claimed that after the failure of his get-rich-quick scheme, Walrond descended into outright poverty – “his House dropt through, ready to fall about his Ears; and rotted a good Chest of Linnen of great Value, and at last, died miserable Poor, as well as Miserable otherwise” – but this

²²⁸ TNA C 22/88/17, 6r. TNA C 22/89/11, 2r, 3r, 10r.

²²⁹ John Whiting, *Persecution Expos’d, in Some Memoirs Relating to the Sufferings of John Whiting* ... (London, 1715), A2r, 98-9. The case appears not to have been recorded in any of the newspapers preserved in the Burney collection, nor in any printed sources collected by *EEBO* or listed in the *ESTC*.

could be Whiting's idea of a fitting end to the man he had so vilified, rather than a strict assertion of fact. That after Walrond's death he became a ghost "said to walk at Noon-day", as Whiting asserted at the end of his account of the squire, seems even less likely, though according to Hugh Norris, as of 1888 this legend had "not yet died out in the immediate neighbourhood".²³⁰ Obviously, Whiting was heavily biased against Walrond and Phelps for their anti-Quaker tendencies, but at least his information about the Herring twins is verifiable based upon the trial records, and accounts of the case certainly could have come to his ears in the form of county gossip.

Whether in the form of printed accounts or oral gossip, knowledge about the Herring twins spread throughout Somerset as far as Brislington, outside of Bristol, about 43 miles from the twins' hometown of Isle Brewers (Figure 65). Brislington had been home to delftware manufactories since the first one was established by John Bissicke and the Nonconformist Robert Bennet in the 1630s, and in 1680 or soon after, these potteries produced a pair of ceramic plates related to the twins' alleged kidnapping, which are now held by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Figure 66) and National Museum Wales, Cardiff (Figure 67).²³¹ Both plates were almost certainly produced in Brislington potteries, and their styles are so similar as to suggest that either one plate was copied directly from the other or, as Cardiff asserts about their plate, "the decoration is probably

²³⁰ Whiting, *Persecution Expos'd*, 99. Norris, "A Piece of Delft Ware," 112.

²³¹ Bissicke and Bennet may have left London as a result of problems faced by Nonconformists there. "Catalogue Entry, 72371", The Fitzwilliam Museum, accessed 11 May 2012: http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/support/artfund/opac/cataloguedetail.html?&preref=72371&_function=xslt&_limit=100. "English Pottery at Amgueddfa Cymru", National Museum Wales, accessed 11 May 2012: <http://www.museumwales.ac.uk/en/rhagor/article/englishpottery/>. O. Fairclough (ed.), *A Companion Guide to the Welsh National Museum of Art* (Cardiff: Amgueddfa Cymru –National Museum Wales, 2011), 32.

derived from a print source, but none has yet been identified”.²³² Certainly, the image does not match the woodcut from the title page of the pamphlet *A True Relation of a Monstrous Female-Child* (Figure 63). The Fitzwilliam’s plate is almost certainly that chronicled by the local historian Hugh Norris as having been “sold at Langport ... *for nearly its weight in silver*” in August of 1887. Norris wrote to the *Yeovil Telegram* for 29 August describing this plate and its historical significance, a study he had presumably conducted when he had himself purchased a yellow-glazed, red clay plate commemorating Priscilla and Aquila, the same plate currently in the collections of the Museum of Somerset (Figure 64).²³³ Similar but not identical, the Fitzwilliam and Cardiff plates memorialized Priscilla and Aquila’s kidnapping by Walrond and Phelips, who is given a larger role in this depiction than he seems to have played according to the court records, and they quite viscerally emphasized the role played by Walrond’s relations the Bromes in the whole event. The plates are inscribed: “Behold two persons that are reconciled to rob the parents and to keep the child: Here is gain o’ the Broom”, either a pun on or a legitimate alternate spelling of the Brome name.²³⁴ Richard Coleman-Smith and Terry Pearson question whether the phrase “The Broom” points to “the protest ... against Phelips and Walrond for displaying the child or against Walrond

²³² “Catalogue Entry, 72371”, The Fitzwilliam Museum. “English Pottery at Amgueddfa Cymru”, National Museum Wales. Fairclough, *A Companion Guide*, 32.

²³³ This plate may be identified with that held by the Fitzwilliam, rather than the one held in Cardiff, because the Cardiff plate features the clause “in 1680”, a phrase which is missing from both the Fitzwilliam plate and the auction catalogue’s description of the plate for sale in 1887. Norris, “A Piece of Delft Ware,” 111. Personal correspondence with Sam Hunt, Senior Visitor Services Assistant, Museum of Somerset, 15 May 2012.

²³⁴ The plates’ inscriptions differ slightly in spelling, and the Fitzwilliam’s plate twice includes the additional clause “in 1680”. *Ceramic Plate of Conjoined Twins Priscilla and Aquila Herring, c. 1680*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 72371. *Ceramic Plate of Conjoined Twins Priscilla and Aquila Herring, c. 1680-90*, National Museum Wales, Cardiff, NMW A 34779.

and Brome for the arrest of so many Quakers”.²³⁵ Indeed, if Richard and Mary Herring were actually Quaker or some other form of Nonconformist, a combination of the two explanations would likely be correct.

While printed images of monstrous births were the norm, the decorative plates produced to memorialize Priscilla and Aquila appear to be unique among depictions of monstrous births.²³⁶ Perhaps even more interesting than the sheer survival of these plates is that two distinct patterns and styles were created (Figure 64 versus Figures 66-67). In fact, while the Fitzwilliam and Cardiff plates are so similar that they were almost certainly based either off each other or off a common (possibly printed) progenitor, the red pitcher plate held by the Museum of Somerset has nothing in common with the other two, beyond featuring Aquila and Priscilla Herring. Whereas the Fitzwilliam and Cardiff plates provided a religio-political commentary on Walrond and Phelips’s role in showing the twins for money – a commentary which was strictly hostile to the Justices of the Peace – the Somerset plate appears to be commemorating the girls’ birth and nothing more. In fact, with its scalloped edges and floral designs, this plate provides the most positive surviving version of Priscilla and Aquila’s life.

As one of the best-documented monsters born in early modern England, and certainly the one which featured in the widest variety of media, the Herring twins provide

²³⁵ Coleman-Smith and Pearson, *Excavations in the Donyatt Potteries*, 179.

²³⁶ About 60% (86 out of 141) of the broadsides, ballads, and pamphlets examined for this dissertation (not all of which can be strictly classified as publications about monstrous births but which do feature unusual or prodigious creatures or events) featured illustrative woodcuts (not including decorative finials and other non-representational images). A.W. Bates asserts that one other plate decorated with conjoined twins exists, produced c. 1515 in Italy. However, the image reproduced by Bates is unconvincing, and the description provided in the Wallace Collection’s catalogue simply identifies the image as “two small naked girls embracing”. Bates, *Emblematic Monsters*, 146. A.V.B. Norman, *Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Ceramics I: Pottery, Maiolica, Faience, Stoneware* (Trustees of the Wallace Collection: London, 1976), 57-8.

a unique glimpse into the themes of communication, publicity, display, and commerce. They were written about in three cheap pamphlets, though only pictured in one; exhibited to hundreds if not thousands of curious individuals first in their familial home and then in the house of a local Justice of the Peace, most of which audience members were local and so likely heard about the twins through the local grapevine; and earned an incredible amount of money for their parents, though apparently quite a bit less for the local squires, and might have earned even more if they had lived. The large number of witnesses who deposed in *Herring v. Walrond* demonstrates the allure of the infants' unusual anatomy (after all, each of the witnesses viewed the twins at some point, probably paying at least 6d. for the privilege) as does the existence of the three ceramic plates on which they featured prominently (which would have decorated the walls in several well-to-do homes). Even John Whiting's decision to co-opt their story in order to excoriate Walrond and Phelps shows how knowledge about the twins stuck around Somerset for at least 35 years. While none of these sources answer the central question of the trial – Who owned Priscilla and Aquilla Herring? – the very survival of such a large number of sources in a wide variety of media indicates that the residents of the parish of Isle Brewers, the county of Somerset, and even London's Courts of Chancery were fascinated by this case and wanted to spread knowledge about this particular pair of conjoined twins.



Figure 63 - A Woodcut of the Herring Twins

Aquila and Priscilla Herring, erroneously depicted as joined back-to-back. Anonymous, *A True Relation of a Monstrous Female-Child ...* (London, [1680]), title page.



Figure 64 - The Redware Plate of the Herring Twins

The Herring twins, depicted as joined at the side, carved into a red clay plate inscribed with the initials IO, SD, and their year of birth, 1680.²³⁷ The significance of the initials is unknown, but Richard Coleman-Smith and Terry Pearson question whether “these letters in an illiterate way [may] give the reason why the children were displayed in the first place ‘I Owe Shillings and Pence’?”; though the Herrings were certainly poor, this seems an unsatisfactory explanation.²³⁸ The initials could possibly belong to a couple who got married in 1680, as other examples of decorated pottery commemorating marriages have survived, though decorating a marriage plate with conjoined twins seems like a bit of an odd choice. Red pitcher clay, covered with a yellow glaze. *Redware Plate of Conjoined Twins Priscilla and Aquila Herring*, c. 1680, Museum of Somerset, TTNCM 4-8. Reproduced in John Eliot Hodgkin and Edith Hodgkin, *Examples of Early English Pottery Named, Dated, and Inscribed* (London, 1891), 58.

²³⁷ Jan Bondeson suggests that this plate “was made, probably to be sold to the many visitors who thronged Isle-Brewers to see them”, but he provides no evidence for this unlikely assertion. Bondeson, “The Isle-Brewers Conjoined Twins,” 107.

²³⁸ Coleman-Smith and Pearson, *Excavations in the Donyatt Potteries*, 179.

<u>name</u>	<u>sex</u>	<u>age</u>	<u>occupation</u>	<u>town of origin</u>	<u>witness for</u>
Walter Baker	male	30	serge-maker	[]yeson	complainant
Ann Bawler	female	28	spinster	Curry Mallet	defense
Elianor Bawler	female	20	spinster	Curry Mallet	defense
Mary Blewett	female	45	wife	Knowle	complainant
Anne Brome	female	27	spinster	Isle Brewers	defense
Christopher Brome	male	59	gentleman	Curry Mallet	defense
Cicilia Brome	female	18	spinster	Curry Mallet	defense
Frances Brome	male	21	gentleman	Curry Mallet	defense
Lawrence Brome	male	25	gentleman	Isle Brewers	defense
Martha Brome	female	57	wife	Isle Abbotts	defense
William Brome	male	19	gentleman	Curry Mallet	defense
Joane Budge	female	40	wife	Isle Brewers	both
John Burnell	male	28	hellier	Puckington	defense
George Butt	male	28	yeoman	Isle Brewers	defense
William Butt	male	32	yeoman	Isle Brewers	complainant
William Crabb	male	27	gentleman	Whitelackington	complainant
Robert Daw	male	29	gentleman	Ivelchester	defense
John Day	male	40	serge-weaver	Isle Brewers	complainant
Thomas Dorchester	male	40	husbandman	Isle Brewers	defense
William Dorchester	male	35	husbandman	Isle Brewers	defense
Elizabeth Fankaer	female	60	widow	Ivelchester	defense
Dorothy Fry	female	28	spinster	Chard	complainant
William Giles	male	74	yeoman	Whitelackington	complainant
Mary Garnish	female	40	wife	Taunton	complainant
Samuel Garnish	male	38	serge-maker	Taunton	complainant
Mary Jeanes	female	23	wife	Kingsbury	complainant
Mary Jennings	female	32	widow	Burton	complainant
Dorothy Lumbard	female	60	wife	Chard	complainant
Bartholomew Parker	male	44	yeoman	Crewkerne	defense
John Perry	male	50	cooper	Crewkerne	both
George Pearce	male	23	wool comber	Isle Brewers	defense
Sarah Pearce	female	53	midwife	Isle Brewers	both
John Peirce	male	53	gentleman	Isle Brewers	defense
William Pinney	male	35	serge-weaver	Curry Rivel	complainant
Alice Pullen	female	23	spinster	Isle Brewers	defense
Samuell Pyke	male	34	husbandman	Isle Brewers	defense
Thomas Roew	male	50	husbandman	Shepton Beauchamp	complainant

Table 2 continued

John Speke	male	30	squire	Whitelackington	complainant
John Sprackett	male	64	husbandman	Isle Brewers	defense
William Sprackett	male	18	yeoman	Isle Brewers	defense
George Stuckey	male	33	husbandman	Isle Brewers	complainant
Thomas Tayler	male	37	yeoman	Ruishton	complainant
Aquilla Taylor	female	40	wife	Isle Brewers	complainant
George Taylor	male	44	husbandman	Isle Brewers	complainant
John Thorne	male	44	tanner	Whitelackington	complainant
Philipp(a) Wellman	female	46	widow	Isle Brewers	complainant
Nathaniel Wills	male	40	cloth-worker	Swell	complainant
Thomas Winsor	male	24	tanner	Chard	complainant
Mary Wood	female	22	wife	Isle Brewers	defense
Anne Verryer	female	40	wife	Wrantage	complainant
John Verryer	male	25	serge-weaver	Wrantage	complainant
Nicholas []are	male	30	gentleman	Whitelackington	complainant

Table 2 - Witnesses in Herring v. Walrond

Demographics of the 52 witnesses in Herring v. Walrond. TNA C 22/88/17, C 22/89/11.



Figure 65 - Locations of the Witnesses in Herring v. Walrond

The towns of origin (black) of witnesses deposed in the case of Herring v. Walrond. Isle Brewers (white) is near the center of the distribution. The closest witnesses lived in Isle Brewers itself, while others came from as far distant as Burton in the northwest (23 miles away), Taunton to the west, Ivelchester in the east, and Chard and Crewkerne to the south. Brislington (red), the location of the potteries which produced the Fitzwilliam and Cardiff plates (Figures 66-67), is to the northeast, outside of Bristol. An interactive version of the map can be viewed at

<http://www.openheatmap.com/view.html?map=AraruIrreconciliablyPeridesmiums>.²³⁹

²³⁹ One town's name ("[_]yeson"), where the serge-maker Walter Baker lived, was too fragmentary to identify and is therefore not included on this map. TNA C 22/89/11, 16v.



Figure 66 - The Fitzwilliam's Plate of the Herring Twins

Aquila and Priscilla Herring, joined between the breasts, being held by their supposed kidnappers, Henry Walrond and Edward Phelps, featured with stylish hats, gloves, sashes, swords, and even bows on their shoes. Tin-glazed earthenware (delftware) produced in Brislington, Somerset, c. 1680. *Ceramic Plate of Conjoined Twins Priscilla and Aquila Herring, c. 1680, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 72371.* Image reproduced in John Eliot Hodgkin and Edith Hodgkin, *Examples of Early English Pottery Named, Dated, and Inscribed* (London, 1891), front papers.



Figure 67 - Cardiff's Plate of the Herring Twins

Priscilla and Aquila, reversed from their depictions on the Fitzwilliam's plate (Figure 66); this plate also includes the date (twice) and Asian-style trees, a common decoration on imported China of this period. The glaze is quite noticeably different: a duck's egg blue on the Fitzwilliam's plate, as opposed to the blue-and-white of Cardiff's. Tin-glazed earthenware (delftware) produced in Brislington, Somerset, 1680-90. *Ceramic Plate of Conjoined Twins Priscilla and Aquila Herring*, c. 1680-90, National Museum Wales, Cardiff, NMW A 34779.

Chapter 4: Scientific Knowledge: London's Royal Society

Whereas there is nothing more necessary for promoting the improvement of Philosophical Matters, than the communicating to such, as apply their Studies and Endeavours that way, such things as are discovered or put in practice by others; it is therefore thought fit to employ the *Press*, as the most proper way to gratifie those, whose engagement in such Studies ... doth entitle them to the knowledge of what this Kingdom, or other parts of the World, do, from time to time, afford, ... To the end, that ... those, addicted to and conversant in such matters, may be invited and encouraged to search, try, and find out new things, impart their knowledge to one another, and contribute what they can to the Grand design of improving Natural knowledge, and perfecting all *Philosophical Arts*, and *Sciences*...

Featured in the introduction to the first *Philosophical Transactions* issue of 1665 and presumably written by Royal Society Secretary Henry Oldenburg, this statement of the lofty goals for the publication epitomizes the way in which Baconian approaches to development of the “moral legitimacy of knowledge of nature” served to promote curiosity as a laudable scientific attribute, just as the journal’s publication itself would “contribute ... to the Grand design of improving Natural knowledge ... [for] the Universal Good of Mankind”.²⁴⁰ Monstrous births were a periodic subject of the journal, with 88 accounts of monsters published in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London between its inception in 1665 and 1800; in fact, its first volume alone contained three articles on monsters, the first written by no less an authority than the

²⁴⁰ [Henry Oldenburg?], “The Introduction”, *Philosophical Transactions (1665-1678)*, v. 1 (1665-6), 1-2. Peter Harrison, “Curiosity, Forbidden Knowledge, and the Reformation of Natural Philosophy in Early Modern England,” *Isis*, 92, no. 2 (June 2001), 265-290, quotation 266.

Founding Fellow Robert Boyle.²⁴¹ Monsters were accepted as a necessary aspect of natural philosophical enquiry thanks to Francis Bacon, who identified these “errors of nature, freaks and monsters, where nature deflects and declines from its usual course” as “wonders of individuals”. When studied, these deviations from the “common and familiar” expression of a species would provide additional information about the species as a whole: “He who knows the ways of nature will also more easily recognize the deviations. And conversely he who recognizes the deviations will more accurately describe the ways”. Bacon lamented that there existed “no sufficient or competent collection of the works of nature which have a digression and deflexion from the ordinary course of generations, productions, and motions ... a substantial and severe collection of the Heteroclites or Irregulars of nature, well examined and described, I find not”. Thus, he suggested that “we must make a collection or particular natural history of all the monsters and prodigious products of nature”.²⁴² The Royal Society examined monsters in its meetings and collected their bodies in the museum-like Repository, while its secretaries disseminated knowledge about them on the pages of the *Philosophical Transactions*, as a result of Francis Bacon’s call to examine both perfect and imperfect individuals in order to better understand Nature’s designs for the world.

²⁴¹ The *Philosophical Transactions* published a total of 5280 articles (excluding front/back matter, prefaces, advertisements, book reviews, and articles included within the *Philosophical Collections*) between 1665 and 1800, making monsters a tiny proportion of the journal’s subject matter. However, articles featuring monstrous births did continue to appear periodically throughout the eighteenth century, indicating that they remained within the purview of natural philosophy.

²⁴² Bacon, *The New Organon*, 148-9. Bacon, “Advancement of Learning Divine and Human,” vol. 3, 330-2. See also da Costa, *The Singular and the Making of Knowledge*, 6-7; and Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 220-31.

Even before Henry Oldenburg, the Society's first Secretary, began publishing the *Philosophical Transactions*, the Royal Society was receiving accounts of monstrous births. On 26 October 1664, a pair of conjoined twins (and a third, unattached sister) were born in Fisherton Anger, Wiltshire on 26 October to "Mary the Wife of John Watterman an Ostler". The non-conjoined sister – alternately called "Efelet", "Elfred", or "C[]ford" – was born first, followed hours later by the conjoined pair. Named Martha and Mary, the girls had "2 heads 4 Armes & hands 2 feet 2 Legges Thighs & Buttocks all which did grow forth about the Middle of the Body by one Side of the Fundament the parte of a woeman". Martha and Mary died on the 28th and were dissected on the 29th, revealing mostly doubled internal organs, including the hearts. Three accounts of the twins were sent to the Royal Society, the first presumably composed by Robert Boyle, the second by a "Mr. Hand", and a third by Mr. Robert Baskett; all three accounts were "communicated" by Boyle, suggesting that Hand and Baskett had written directly to him. Included with Baskett's letter were a trio of careful sketches, detailing the twins' shared anatomy from front, back, and during the dissection (Figure 68).²⁴³

The Waterman twins were born five months before the first issue of the *Philosophical Transactions*, and Oldenburg did not include them in the journal once it began publication. However, the girls were introduced to a London audience via a pair of

²⁴³ The first account contains the annotation, "Sent in by Mr Boyle", whereas the second and third accounts specify that Boyle "communicated" them, suggesting that Boyle himself might have penned the first description. Boyle is also the only listed author for this topic in the table of contents for this volume. Michael Hunter suggests that Boyle's interest in monsters stemmed from a hope that they "might shed light on anatomical processes", an ideal in keeping with a Baconian view of Nature. RS Cl.P, vol. 13, no. 2, Classified Papers, 1660-1741, 13. Monsters, Longevity. Michael Hunter, *Boyle: Between God and Science* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009. Reprinted in paperback 2010), 152.

broad­sides printed in early November 1664. The first, *The True Picture of a Female Monster Born near Salisbury*, was printed on 5 November. On 12 November, it was followed by a blackletter ballad written to the tune of “*London Prentice: Or, Jovial Batchelor*”, entitled *Natures Wonder?* The broadsheets’ texts are different from one another but agree in their broad details, as well as in their depictions of the twins’ anatomy (Figure 69). When *The True Picture of a Female Monster Born near Salisbury* was published, it was accompanied by the announcement that “*This Monster is intended speedily to be brought to London*”, which apparently had yet to happen on the 12th, as *Natures Wonder?* declared that though the bodies had been “Imbalmed” and seen by “both Lords, Ladys, and much Gentry” (who on the first day had given twenty pounds to the poor father), they had yet “to be brought to *London* to be seen”. *Natures Wonder?* had one more detail to add to the earlier printed account of the Waterman girls: a guarantee from a reliable witness that “I *Josiah Smith*, Practitioner of *Physick*, saw them all three alive”.²⁴⁴ By 12 November, then, news of the Waterman twins’ birth and death, and even a teaser that their embalmed bodies would soon arrive in the City, had permeated London. Though the Royal Society received their news about the unusual birth first, and the accounts read before the Society were much richer in detail (particularly in terms of the twins’ internal conformation), news of this birth spread to a much wider audience in the popular press than would have been able to read about them in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

²⁴⁴ The unconjoined triplet is named “Eefelet” in these sources. Anonymous, *Natures Wonder? Or, an Account How the Wife of One John Waterman an Ostler ... was Delivered of a Strange Monster ...* ([London]: 12 November 1664), single sheet. Anonymous, *The True Picture of a Female Monster Born near Salisbury* (London: 1664), reprinted in *The Pack of Autolycus or Strange and Terrible News ...*, edited by Hyder Edward Rollins, 139-45 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927, reissued 1969), 140-1.

Oldenburg chose to include monsters on the pages of the *Philosophical Transactions* from its first issue, which demonstrates that he, and presumably by extension the Royal Society as a whole, was indeed embracing Bacon's call for a natural philosophical study of nature's prodigies. The first such article, Robert Boyle's "Account of a Very Odd Monstrous Calf", filled only half a page and is worth quoting at length:

By the same Noble person [Robert Boyle, the author of the book described in the preceding article] was lately communicated to the *Royal Society* an Account of a very Odd Monstrous Birth, produced at *Limmington* in *Hampshire*, where a Butcher, having caused a Cow (which cast her Calf the year before) to be covered, that she might sooner be fatted, killed her when fat, and opening the Womb, which he found heavy to admiration, saw in it a Calf, which had begun to have hair, whose hinder Leggs had no Joynts, and whose Tongue was, *Cerberus*-like, triple, to each side of his Mouth one, and one in the midst: Between the Fore-leggs and the Hinder-leggs was a great Stone, on which the Calf rid: The *Sternum*, or that part of the Breast, where the Ribs lye [*sic*] , was also perfect Stone; and the Stone, on which it rid, weighed twenty pounds and a half; the outside of the Stone was of Grenish [*sic*] colour, but some small parts being broken off, it appeared a perfect Free-stone. The Stone, according to the Letter of Mr. *David Thomas*, who sent this Account to Mr. *Boyle*, is with Doctor *Haughteyn* of *Salisbury*, to whom he also referreth for further Information.²⁴⁵

Unfortunately, no image accompanied the article, but the text itself demonstrates the process by which information was sent to the Royal Society, digested by its secretary, and distributed via the *Philosophical Transactions*.²⁴⁶ Unlike the letters contained in later volumes of the journal which were often quoted verbatim, Henry Oldenburg here reworked the original letter from David Thomas into a third-person narrative. Boyle read the letter itself in a Royal Society meeting, and the article provided readers with limited contact information for the man now in possession of the stone from the calf's belly,

²⁴⁵ Robert Boyle, "An Account of a Very Odd Monstrous Calf", *Philosophical Transactions* (1665-1678), v. 1 (1665-6), 10.

²⁴⁶ Of the 88 *Philosophical Transactions* articles featuring monsters, only 31 (or 35%) were illustrated.

“Doctor *Haughteyn* of *Salisbury*”, in case anyone wanted to see the object for himself. Presumably Haughten had examined the calf at some point, as he was also listed as a source for “further Information” on the case.

In the next issue of the journal, David Thomas provided an update to Boyle’s earlier article with both a clarification on his first letter and a further description the calf and its stone:

Upon the strictest inquiry, I find by one, that saw the Monstrous Calf and stone within four hours after it was cut out of the Cows belly, that the Breast of the Calf was not stony (as I wrote) but that the skin of the Breast and between the Legs and of the Neck (which parts lay on the smaller end of the stone) was very much thicker, then [*sic*] on any other part, and that the Feet of the Calf were so parted as to be like the Claws of a Dog. The stone I have since seen; it is bigger at one end then the other; of no plain *Superficies*, but full of little cavities. The stone, when broken, is full of small peble [*sic*] stones of an Ovall figure: its colour is gray like free-stone, but intermixt with veins of yellow and black. A part of it I have begged of Dr. *Haughten* for you [Boyle], which I have sent to *Oxford*, whither a more exact account will be conveyed by the same person.²⁴⁷

Thomas’s “more exact account” of the stone did not appear in the *Philosophical Transactions*, though the letter could conceivably have been stored with the stone itself, to provide reference material to future viewers. It is unknown whether this stone became one of the “Monstrous Works of Nature” contained within the Royal Society’s Repository, as David Thomas’s name does not appear in the “List of those who have Contributed to this *Musaeum*” (i.e. the Repository), though the list’s compiler Nehemiah Grew lamented that some contributors’ names had been lost and the list was therefore incomplete. Alternately, the list does contain a “John Houghton Pharm. L.”, who could

²⁴⁷ David Thomas, “An Observation Imparted to the Noble Mr. Boyle, by Mr. David Thomas, Touching Some Particulars Further Considerable in the Monster Mentioned in the First Papers of These Philosophical Transactions”, *Philosophical Transactions (1665-1678)*, v. 1 (1665-6), 20-1.

conceivably be the *Haughteyn* or *Haughten* mentioned in the articles. In either case, the stone does not seem to be listed as part of the Repository collection in 1681, and it appears not to survive at the British Museum today.²⁴⁸

The Repository was begun in the 1660s with the advent of the Royal Society itself, received a purpose-built space in 1712 at the Society's new premises at Crane Court in Fleet Street, and was donated to the British Museum shortly after the Society moved to Somerset House in 1779. Presumably, the Museum either sold off the collection or it simply deteriorated over time, as few material traces of it survive today.²⁴⁹ One of the few concrete records of the Repository's early holdings comes in the form of a printed collection catalogue compiled around 1680 by Fellow Nehemiah Grew. The *Musaeum Regalis Societatis. Or a Catalogue & Description of the Natural and Artificial Rarities Belonging to the Royal Society and Preserved at Gresham Colledge* is split into four parts – animals, plants, minerals, and artificial matters – of which the first contains a few examples of monstrous births and unusual anatomical findings. Most relevant for this study are a pair of entries: “A MONSTROUS CALF with two heads. Each head is a little less than usual; the rest of the parts according to Nature” and “The SKIN of a CALF with two heads, tanned with the hair on”. While neither monster was described in the *Philosophical Transactions*, Grew did associate the catalogue entries with the “very

²⁴⁸ Nehemiah Grew, *Musaeum Regalis Societatis. Or a Catalogue & Description of the Natural and Artificial Rarities Belonging to the Royal Society and Preserved at Gresham Colledge* (London: 1681), 388. The Royal Society, “Before the British Museum: The Repository of the Royal Society”, accessed 20 October 2012, <http://royalsociety.org/Before-the-British-Museum-the-Repository-of-the-Royal-Society/>. Lisa Jardine, “Paper Monuments and Learned Societies: Hooke's Royal Society Repository,” in *Enlightening the British: Knowledge, Discovery and the Museum in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by R.G.W. Anderson, M.L. Caygill, A.G. MacGregor, and L. Syson (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 49-54.

²⁴⁹ Jardine, “Paper Monuments and Learned Societies”, 49.

strange story of a Monstrous Calf in the *Philos. Trans. N. 1. & N. 2.* compared together: communicated by the Honourable Mr. *Boyle*”, the pair of articles described just above, providing evidence of an attempt to rectify the articles of the journal with the holdings in the Repository.²⁵⁰ This association of printed account with physical remains also appears in two eighteenth-century articles, in which two “horns” which grew from the fingernails of an eight-year-old boy and the skin of a calf with fluid-filled “Bags” on its sides had both been donated to the Repository by the time the articles were published.²⁵¹

The last monstrous article included in the first volume of the *Philosophical Transactions* examined the monstrous head of a colt

first viewed by Mr. *Boyle*, who went into the Stable where the *Colt* lay, and got the Head hastily and rudely cut off, the *Body* thereof appearing to his Eye compleatly formed, without any *Monstrosity* to be taken notice of in it. Afterwards he caused it to be put into a Vessel, and covered it with *Spirit of Wine*, thereby chiefly intending, to give good example, together with a proof, that by the help of the said *Spirit*, (which he hath recommended for such Properties in one of his *Essays* of the *Vsefulness* of *Natural Philosophy*) the parts of *Animals*, and even *Monsters*, may in *Summer* it self be preserved long enough, to afford *Anatomists* the opportunities of examining them.²⁵²

Boyle published an article on preparing small wet specimens in a later issue of the same volume, and a fascination with the preservation of anatomical specimens appears to

²⁵⁰ Grew, *Musaeum Regalis Societatis*, 27.

²⁵¹ Rich[ard] Wroe, “Part of Two Letters from the Reverend Dr Rich. Wroe, Warden of Manchester Colledge, to Dr Hans Sloane, S. R. S. concerning Horn-Like Excrescences Growing on the Fingers, etc.”, *Philosophical Transactions (1683-1775)*, Vol. 24 (1704-5), 1899-1900. Archibald Adams, “Part of a Letter from Dr. Archibald Adams of Norwich, to Dr. Edwaid [*sic*] Tyson, Fellow of the College of Physicians and Royal Society; Concerning a Monstrous Calf, and Some Things Observable in the Anatomy of a Human Ear”, *Philosophical Transactions (1683-1775)*, v. 25 (1706-7), 2414-5.

²⁵² [Henry Oldenburg?], “Observables upon a Monstrous Head”, *Philosophical Transactions (1665-1678)*, v. 1 (1665-6), 85-6, *fig.4*.

explain his particular interest in this monster.²⁵³ The colt's head was preserved well enough for dissection, though presumably not for long-term storage as it does not appear in the 1681 Repository catalogue; however, an etching was made of it before it could decompose, preserving the monster in representation, if not in the flesh (Figure 70). Later that same month, Oldenburg wrote back to Boyle, who seems not to have been in Oxford at the time, that the Society

did order me the other day, to inquire of you, whether that colt, whereof you gave them the monstrous head, had no other monstrosity in any other part of its body; some of the company being apt to believe, that, if it had not, it might very well be, that it had received a forcible kick on the tender head, whereby the eyes were dislodged, and forced into one place. I pray, resolve this question, if you had the particulars of this Colts whole constitution. I hope, you will give me leave to insert it into my next Transactions ...²⁵⁴

The monstrous colt was clearly being talked about at Society meetings, though it did not show up again in the *Philosophical Transactions*, presumably because Boyle had no further details to add from his admittedly cursory examination of the body. Rather than drawing any conclusions about the colt itself, then, this series of letters instead served as a lesson in the importance of proper specimen preparation.

In a clear example of knowledge begetting further knowledge, in 1667 Samuel Colepresse decided to write to Oldenburg after having “Observ[ed] in your Repository a monstrous calfe” (perhaps either the body or the skin described in Grew’s catalogue), and read “an account of another” (presumably Boyle’s and Thomas’s calf with “a great Stone, on which the Calf rid”), as well as that of the “colts head mentioned in the *Philosophical*

²⁵³ Robert Boyle, “A Way of Preserving Birds Taken Out of the Egge, and Other Small Faetus’s; Communicated by Mr. Boyle”, *Philosophical Transactions (1665-1678)*, v. 1 (1665-6), 199-201.

²⁵⁴ RS EL/OB/30, Henry Oldenburg to Robert Boyle, June 1665.

Transactions” (Boyle’s 1665 account discussed just above). Colepresse’s letter shared two cases of monstrosity with Oldenburg: a “monstrous blacke ram lambe fallen with one head, but 2 distinct bodys” and “a white lambe ... with 2 distinct heads, & necks joyned att the shoulders but one only well-formed body”, both of which had been born in the parish of Bere Ferrers in Devonshire the previous February. Colepresse’s original letter included “A draught of the [second] lambe, as it was brought me” which did not appear in the *Philosophical Transactions*, where the letter was reproduced, but did survive with the original letter in the Royal Society’s archives (Figure 71). The body of the single-headed white lamb had been “praeserved by the industrious, & commendable care of Captain Locke; (who oversees the Silver-Mine,) by drying it in an Oven, & putting it in the Sun: which he lately sent me over, & at present remaines in my custody: yet it has been soe ordered, as that may not be skined, & cased now: which I could heartily wish had beene seasonably performed: but it was too late before it fell to my share.”²⁵⁵ Though the lamb was too dry to dissect and turn into a wet specimen, the drying process preserved the body well enough that it remained in Colepresse’s collection two months after its birth.

Apparently, Colepresse continued to collect monsters, as he sent Oldenburg a monstrous chick only a few months later, which was presumably intended for inclusion in the Repository, though it does not appear in Grew’s catalogue:

Findeing some empty place in the box, I conceived it would not be accounted a trouble to you, to finde in steed of hay, a monstrous chicke, lately presented me: In it you’le easily discover 4 leggs, 5 wings, a double

²⁵⁵ Robert Boyle, “An Account of a Very Odd Monstrous Calf”, *Philosophical Transactions* (1665-1678), v. 1 (1665-6), 10. RS EL/C1/14, Samuel Colepresse, Dated at Underwood, to Henry Oldenburg, 13 April 1667. [Samuel] Colepresse, “An Account of Two Monstrous Births, Not Long Since Produced in Devonshire; Communicated by M. Colepresse”, *Philosophical Transactions* (1665-1678), v. 2 (1666-7), 480-1.

one on the backe: & one of the other double alsoe: it had 2 tailes, but not discernable now. It was pretty, (they said,) to see it goe like a horse: and pittie it was, they should unadvisedly kill it, being natures production with 8 more (not monstrous) att the same incubation, out of a foolish feare, that it would be, if suffered to live an omen of ill.²⁵⁶

Colepresse did not clarify whether this chick was preserved wet or dry, but his scorn for those who believed monsters were evil omens rather than productions of Nature, in this case his superstitious neighbors, comes through clearly in the letter.

Colepresse continued to write to Oldenburg whenever he came across new cases of monstrosity, though he was out of town for the day at the beginning of April 1668 and missed seeing for himself the “extraordinary great white Kid [born] (not above 3 doors from our house)”. The goat’s “mouth reacht up to the very eares on both sides; soe as to slite them, the underjaw about an inch shorter than the upper that resembled somewhat a Goose-bill (which occasion the pleasant conceit of Mr J. B’s wife, that owned this kid to thinke the Goate more especiallie saw a Goose att the time of conception)”. Colepresse gently dismissed this theory of maternal impression by calling it a “pleasant concept”, which implies that he considered maternal impression at least less distasteful than identifying monsters as divine omens. The goat was born alive, and apparently its owner tried, without success, to assist its attempts to suckle by sewing its mouth closed “with a needle, & thred from bothe eares half ways downe: yet, when they gave it milke, if they held it on eyther side, it would run out att the Eare which was undermost”.²⁵⁷ Interestingly, though this account reads as if Colepresse had viewed the animal himself, he apparently had it described to him by another witness:

²⁵⁶ RS EL/C1/15, Samuel Colepresse, Dated at Plymouth, to Henry Oldenburg, 26 July 1667.

²⁵⁷ RS EL/C1/20, Samuel Colepresse, Dated at Underwood, to Henry Oldenburg, 2 April 1668.

I was very sorry, that I could not see it my selfe. yet I dare credit my neighbours, that owned it: for indeed it was out of a too modist, & complementicall respect from the good-woman of the house, that would not lett her husband acquaint me with it, (till too late) lest (said she) [Colepresse] should take it as an affront to be told of soe frivolous a thing (as she thought) as this of a young Kid. It was throwne out in to an Orchard the [Sunday] morneing, but carried away by some dog or otherwais by the afternoone, till when I heard nothing concerning it.²⁵⁸

Though Colepresse's interest in physical abnormality seems to have been well-established in his neighborhood, this goat was apparently considered insufficiently monstrous to bother telling him about until after it had already been eaten by the local dogs. Thus, he had to make due with a second-hand account, in turn passing a third-hand description on to Oldenburg.

Though malformed animals did feature on the pages of the *Philosophical Transactions*, it was abnormal human anatomies, and particularly conjoined twins, which garnered the most commentary. One of the best examples of this trend is that of the Hungarian sisters Helen and Judith who were born 26 October 1701 in Újszöny, now in North Hungary. By the time they were described in the *Philosophical Transactions* in 1757, they had been dead for 34 years, having died on 23 February 1723 in the Ursuline convent where they had lived since age eight.²⁵⁹ The twins were attached at the sacrum

²⁵⁸ RS EL/C1/20.

²⁵⁹ The twins either joined the convent in the ninth year of the century (at age eight) or at age nineteen: "Receptae autem sunt sacrum hoc in collegium anno secul ix. die xii. kalendas Aprilis, ibi xi mansionis, vitae xix jam plane complerunt." I find age eight to be more likely than age nineteen, as on the previous page, the girls were described as having been at St. Ursula's for a long time during their childhood: "Ingressae non diu puerilem aetatem fuerant, nonusque illis annus agi coeptus currebat, quando harum in disciplinam virginum tradebantur." Torkos and Burnet, *et al.*, "Observationes Anatomico-Medicae," 319, 320. For an English retelling of Torkos's article that claims that the girls entered the convent at age nine, see Anonymous, *The New Wonderful Magazine, and Marvellous Chronicle of Extraordinary Productions, Events, and Occurrences, in Nature and Art ...* (London: 1793), vol. 1, 6-8; citation 7. See also Medical Society of the State of New York, *Transactions of the Medical Society of the State of New York, for the Year 1866* (New York: C. Wendell, 1866), 225-7, fig. 6.

and coccyx, in the lower back (pygopagus twinning), and each possessed her own internal organs, with the exception of a shared vagina and rectum, though the urethras were separate. Helen was born first, followed by Judith three hours later; since Judith was always described as the weaker, more apathetic, and less intelligent twin, one must wonder whether this extended delivery might have harmed the younger sister, though upon autopsy Judith's heart was also discovered to be too large and somewhat malformed, which would have affected the level of oxygenated blood pumped around her body.²⁶⁰ Certainly, Judith's general health was much worse than Helen's; though both twins suffered simultaneously from smallpox and measles, Judith was prone to seizures and various other "hysterias".²⁶¹ The twins' death was, in fact, caused by convulsions which Judith began suffering from on 8 February 1723 and which continued until the sisters' near-simultaneous death on 23 February.²⁶²

Thousands of individuals likely viewed the twins when they toured around Europe with the Hungarian doctor Csuszio, who it seems had bought the girls from their parents (see also Chapter 2). By the time William Burnet, FRS, wrote to the Royal Society about Helen and Judith from Leiden on 9 May 1708, the sisters had already moved on to the Hague, implying that they were visiting each of the major European

²⁶⁰ Torkos and Burnet, *et al.*, "Observationes Anatomico-Medicae," 311, 313.

²⁶¹ Torkos and Burnet, *et al.*, "Observationes Anatomico-Medicae," 312: "variisque hystericis".

²⁶² Torkos and Burnet, *et al.*, "Observationes Anatomico-Medicae," 313. Torkos's source for his information about the twins was his father-in-law Carl Rayger, "the attending doctor at the Petersburg convent where the sisters lived and died". R. M. van der Weiden, "Disclosure of an Unknown Portrait of the Hungarian Conjoined Twin Sisters Helen and Judith (1701-23)", *Journal of Medical Biography* 16, no. 3 (August 2008), 173-4, quotation 174. James Paris du Plessis rather claims that "one Dyed 3 Dayes after the other in very Great Pains", though his source for this assertion is unknown. BL Add. MS 5246, 24v. James Paris Du Plessis, *Servant to Samuel Pepys: A Short History of Human Prodigious & Monstrous Births of Dwarfs, Sleepers, Giants, Strong Men, Hemaphrodites, Numerous Births, and Extream Old Age &c.*

cities in turn.²⁶³ Burnet's letter was read to the Society on 12 May, and the print which he enclosed with it passed around for the Fellows to view, but Burnet's letter did not end up getting published until 1757, when it accompanied an account of the twins by Justo Johanne Torkos, FRS. Torkos's letter, in turn, had been read to the Royal Society on 23 May 1751 but was not published for a further six years, as the original had been lost in the bustle following the death of the Society's President Martin Folkes in 1754 (see below).²⁶⁴

Accompanying these two letters in the 1757 *Philosophical Transactions* article were two additional accounts of the twins, as well as two quite similar front-and-back etchings of Helen and Judith (Figures 72-73); both images were produced by James Mynde, (fl. 1720-60), and it is unclear why two nearly identical engravings would have been published as part of the same article.²⁶⁵ However, as the first etching (Tab. XII) is cited in relation to Torkos's letter and the second (Tab. XIII) in relation to Burnet's, perhaps the unusual multi-source format of this article explains the apparent duplication of visual data. If each letter were originally accompanied by its own etching, as occurred with Burnet's – "This letter was read to the Royal Society on the 12th of May 1708; and the print mentioned in it produced; which, being now become extremely difficult to be

²⁶³ Torkos asserts that they toured around Germany, England, France, Italy, Poland, Holland, Austria, Moravia, and their native Hungary. Torkos and Burnet, *et al.*, "Observationes Anatomico-Medicae," 315, 319, 320.

²⁶⁴ Torkos and Burnet, *et al.*, "Observationes Anatomico-Medicae," 311, 314. David Boyd Haycock, "Martin Folkes (1690–1754)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004-), accessed 21 August 2012, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9795>. Burnet's manuscript letter has survived as BL Sloane 4026, 247r-v, though the original print is not bound with it; this may be the print preserved at the British Museum as Z, 1.162. BL Sloane 4026, Sir Hans Sloane, Baronet: Philosophical Papers Communicated to: 17th-18th Cent. London; Societies, Scientific. Royal Society: Philosophical Transactions: 1665-1742.

²⁶⁵ Tooley, R.V. "Mynde, James (fl. 1720-1760). Engraver," in *Tooley's Dictionary of Mapmakers* (Tring, Hertfordshire: Map Collector Publications, 1999-), 303.

met with, is thought proper to be engraved again, and inserted here” (Figures 74-75) – then the inclusion of two etchings in the journal article makes more sense.²⁶⁶

The first remaining account, like Burnet’s, was copied from a firsthand description by James Paris du Plessis, who saw Helen and Judith in London on 12 July 1710, “they being then aged about 9 Years they Dyed about [1]2 Years after in France”. Paris’s account comes from his manuscript commonplace book *A Short History of Human Prodigious & Monstrous Births*, which features brightly-painted front and back views of the twins (Figure 76), along with a description of their bodies and history.²⁶⁷ The inveterate collector Sir Hans Sloane, President and FRS, had obtained (likely through purchase) the manuscript book from Paris around 1741 (see Chapter 5). Perhaps Paris’s account came to mind when Torkos’s letter was read to the Society in 1751, and Sloane proffered a copy of the entry at that time. Certainly he did not give the original manuscript book to the Royal Society, as it has survived as a part of Sloane’s personal collection in the British Library. Alternately, a later reader of the commonplace book could have pointed the entry out to the compiler of this extended article, or the compiler himself may have been such a reader, once the book had already been installed “in the British Museum” after Sloane’s death in 1753.²⁶⁸

The final account of Helen and Judith’s life included in the *Philosophical Transactions* was copied, presumably in its entirety as the description stretches for more than four pages, from “a book very seldom met with in this country, being printed at

²⁶⁶ Torkos and Burnet, *et al.*, “Observationes Anatomico-Medicae,” 316.

²⁶⁷ BL MS Sloane 5246, 24r-25r. Paris’s account clearly reads “they Dyed about 2 Years after”, but this assertion is clearly incorrect, as the girls died in 1723.

²⁶⁸ Torkos and Burnet, *et al.*, “Observationes Anatomico-Medicae,” 317.

Vienna in 1729. intituled, *Gerardi Cornelii Drieschii Historia magnæ Legationis Cæsaræ, quam Caroli VI. auspiciis suscepit Damianus Hugo Virmonditius, &c.*”²⁶⁹

Whereas Torkos’s account had focused mainly upon the twins’ anatomy, Driesch’s was concerned instead with their history and with speculation about the number of souls they possessed: two, Driesch concluded. Whether the brain or the heart was considered the seat of the soul, Helen and Judith had each possessed her own, and further, any witness to the twins’ behavior could have observed that each woman was guided by her own mind.²⁷⁰

The format of this article is quite distinct when compared to other letters published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. Rather than consisting of a single letter, the article pulls together a number of accounts in both English and Latin written over the course of decades; in this, the piece more closely resembles a commonplace book collection than a journal article. The editorial notes inserted between the individual accounts can also provide us with an unusual glimpse into the workings of the Society in the early-to-mid eighteenth century. It was never explained why Burnet’s letter was read but not published in 1708, but the gap between the 1751 reading and 1757 printing of Torkos’s letter

was occasioned by the long indisposition, and afterwards death, of their [the Royal Society’s] late President Martin Folkes, Esquire; who having taken it to his house, with a view of collecting and adding to it some further particulars, it could not be found after his decease. But Dr. Torkos, the writer, being again applied to, immediately transmitted the copy of it

²⁶⁹ Torkos and Burnet, *et al.*, “Observationes Anatomico-Medicae,” 318.

²⁷⁰ “Equidem dubitandum minimè reor, quin monstrosa hæc bina corpora duplici mente ac spiritu regantur. Nam sive cor faciamus, sive cerebrum statuamus animi sedem, ex utrolibet idem nullo negotio evincitur. Adde tot actiones multiplices, cogitationes rerum diversas, sensa animi varia, quæ, ut aliud nihil fit, isthuc pariter nos docent.” Torkos and Burnet, *et al.*, “Observationes Anatomico-Medicae,” 321-2.

printed above: and, in order to supply in some measure the want of what Mr. Folkes's extensive reading and industry might have furnished the public with, in relation to so very remarkable a fact, the following accounts, printed and manuscript, are subjoined as a supplement to the preceding article.²⁷¹

Presumably since it was both the most recent composition and the impetus for collecting the various accounts in the first place, Torkos's letter appears first in the article, rather than last as it would have had the article been organized chronologically. As Peter Davall was the Biological Sciences Secretary in 1757, it is reasonable to assume that both the organizational scheme and background research of the article were his doing.²⁷²

While the presentation of Helen and Judith's case was unusual in consisting of four written accounts and two etchings, conjoined twins were by no means the only topic to garner multiple letters from Royal Society members and readers. The hermaphrodite Anna Wilde was first described by Thomas Allen, a physician and F.R.S., in 1667 when Wilde was to be seen in London. Wilde had been born on 2 February 1647 at Ringwood in Hampshire.²⁷³ At the age of six, "there appeared two Tumours like Hernia's or Ruptures; in reducing which, all the Care of Surgeons was ineffectual; for they proved to be Testicles", each contained within skin flaps which were either labia or a bifurcated scrotum. However, Wilde's sex was not called into question until she was thirteen years old: "once happening to be kneading Dough, all of a sudden a Penis, which till then lay concealed, broke forth, to the great Surprize of the Patient". At the age of sixteen, Wilde menstruated for two years, whereupon her courses stopped, her voice dropped, and she

²⁷¹ Torkos and Burnet, *et al.*, "Observationes Anatomico-Medicae," 314-5.

²⁷² The Royal Society, "Officers", accessed 9 May 2013, <http://royalsociety.org/about-us/governance/officers/>.

²⁷³ Anna Wilde was never identified as male and was invariably referred to by feminine pronouns, a practice I will follow here.

grew a beard. Allen included two accounts of Wilde's sexual preferences, first saying that "at the Sight of a Woman her Penis was erected, and at the Sight of a Man it became flaccid" and going on to relate how "one Night she was making merry with her Companions, she cast her Eyes upon a handsome Man, and became so much in Love with him, that the Excess of her Passion made her hysterick".²⁷⁴ Though Allen likely intended the observation and story to demonstrate Wilde's double nature – as a man, she was aroused by women, while as a woman, she was capable of succumbing to hysterical passion for a man – this description reads as distinctly more salacious than scientific and as such is rather out of place in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

A response to Allen's letter was printed in the journal years later that sharply contradicted Allen's conclusions, even calling his professional credentials into question; though intellectual disagreement was not uncommon in the journal, this article appears to have been an explicit attack on Allen himself, rather than solely on his conclusions. The anonymous author of this review, entitled "A True and Accurate Account of an Hermaphrodite", began his own account of Wilde's case by questioning not Allen's identification of Wilde as an hermaphrodite but rather whether hermaphrodites even exist. He asserted that "we are not to wonder that People unacquainted with the Structure of a human Body, and the Laws of Nature in its Formation, should credit Impossibilities concerning it" and claimed that all of the so-called hermaphrodites he had seen in London

²⁷⁴ Allen wrote his original letter in Latin in 1667; it was reprinted in English in 1745 as part of S. Mihles's compilation of medical articles culled out of the *Philosophical Transactions*. Thomas Allen, "An hermaphrodite," in S. Mihles, ed., *Medical Essays and Observations Relating to the Practice of Physic and Surgery: Abridg'd from the Philosophical Transactions, from their First Publication* (London, 1745), 25-6. Tho[mas] Allen, "An Exact Narrative of an Hermaphrodite Now in London," *Philosophical Transactions* 2 (1666-7), 624-5.

since Allen's letter was published had actually been "Women whose Clitoris was longer than ordinary, and nothing more". Moreover, he identified Wilde as one of these women, who through "Frequent Titillation" had made her "Clitoris grow longer than it would naturally have done". The author continued on to berate Allen for his lack of scientific method as, he claimed, Allen received all his information about Wilde's genitalia from "the Man who shewed her to People for Money: A Man ... whose Business it was to tell as strange a Story as he could", an accusation which would admittedly serve to explain Allen's emphasis upon Wilde's sexual preferences. The author even questioned how Wilde could have grown a beard and become physically more masculine around age eighteen, as Allen had claimed, if she was seen in Holland by the famous anatomist Ysbrand van Diemberbroeck "some years after this, but she was then as much a Woman as ever". According to the author, Diemberbroeck even reported that Wilde menstruated when he examined her and called Allen's "penis" an enlarged clitoris. "However false Conclusions Dr. Allen may have drawn from the Facts he lays down in this Paper", the author asserted at the end of his review, "the Facts themselves serve our Turn to prove the contrary to what he intended to make out by them. They perfectly convince us that what he means to describe as an Hermaphrodite, was not an Hermaphrodite, but a mere Woman".²⁷⁵ Though Allen never responded to this barbed critique, the pages of the *Philosophical Transactions* continued to provide a venue for discussions of hermaphrodites' nature – whether male, female, or a combination of the two – as well as a contrast with popular accounts of the same cases.

²⁷⁵ Anonymous, "A True and Accurate Account of an Hermaphrodite [Reprint. Originally published: London, n. d.]" in *A Review of the Works of the Royal Society of London; Containing Animadversions on Such of the Papers as Deserve Particular Observation*, edited by Sir John Hill (London: 1780), 97-102.

James Parsons described the hermaphrodite Michael-Anne Drouart in a 1750 letter to the Royal Society, though the seventeen-page pamphlet printed while the “Parisian boy-girl, aged sixteen” was “upon Show in Carnaby-Street, London” in November of that year provided a more thorough background to his/her story.²⁷⁶ At birth, Drouart was given the two names of “Michael” and “Anne”, “under the Uncertainty of which [sex] it properly belonged to”, though Drouart’s parents later determined him/her to be predominantly female. As a child, however, Drouart was widely reported as being an hermaphrodite, which led to “constant Interruptions and Visits ... from all Quarters”. His/her parents “had not the least Idea, at that Time of exposing it to View, for any Advantage or Lucre” except to “some Persons only of the first Distinction [who] were admitted to satisfy their Curiosity”. At the age of sixteen, Drouart became “an Object so interesting to the public Curiosity” that his/her portrait was engraved, which had apparently become “pretty rare” by 1750. The crowds flocking to Drouart’s home eventually became so overwhelming that his/her parents allowed Drouart to stay at the home of “M. Fage’aise, a Surgeon of great Note and Eminence”, who only allowed in “Persons of the first Rank and Condition”, at the hefty price of “thirty *louis-d’ors per diem*”. Early in 1750, Drouart travelled to London, “where all Curiosities either of Nature or Art find an Encouragement proportionable to their Degrees of Merit”, and where he/she went on display for people such as M. Vacherie, the pamphlet’s author, to

²⁷⁶ As was common in the period, Vacherie referred to Michael-Anne Drouart throughout the pamphlet with the gender-neutral pronoun “it”. In this narrative and in a conscious attempt to acknowledge the “double” nature of Drouart’s genitals, I will instead refer to Drouart with the pronouns “he/she”, “him/her”, etc. M. Vacherie, *An Account of the Famous Hermaphrodite, or, Parisian Boy-Girl, Aged Sixteen, Named Michael-Anne Drouart, at This Time (November, 1750.) upon Show in Carnaby-Street, London* (London: 1750), 2. James Parsons, “A Letter to the President Concerning the Hermaphrodite Shewn in London: By James Parsons M. D. F. R. S.,” *Philosophical Transactions* 47 (1751-52), XLVII.

describe. After presenting Drouart's background, the following eight pages of the pamphlet were dedicated to a careful description of his/her body and especially genitalia, eventually concluding that Drouart's sex could not be determined and that he/she was therefore "a complete Hermaphrodite".²⁷⁷

In his letter to the Royal Society from March 1750, however, James Parsons had instead asserted that Drouart, who was "now shewn at Ludgate as an hermaphrodite" was in fact female with a "clitoris, grown to an inordinate size".²⁷⁸ Parsons's letter simultaneously commented on Drouart's body and advertised Parsons's expert work *A Mechanical Critical Inquiry into the Nature of Hermaphrodites*, a book that he had also promoted in a letter written to the Royal Society nearly a decade earlier. In writing this book, Parsons had apparently capitalized upon "a Time when the Town was daily entertained with Advertisements of the Angolan [hermaphrodite] that was shewed here publicly".²⁷⁹ By the time Drouart appeared, Parsons had already established himself as an expert on both true and pseudo-hermaphroditism.

Many cases of anatomical abnormality described in the *Philosophical Transactions* occasioned less scholarly discussion than did conjoined twins or hermaphrodites, though they still merited inclusion on the journal's pages. Take for example the girl born to Elizabeth Spencer in 1734/5 who was born "without either Legs or Thighs; but had two Feet joined unto the lower Part of the Body, the Heels inward, the Toes (of which it had not the full Number) pointing toward the Sides", an image of whom

²⁷⁷ Vacherie, *An Account of the Famous Hermaphrodite*, 4-6, 14.

²⁷⁸ James Parsons, "A Letter to the President," 142.

²⁷⁹ James Parsons, "A Letter from James Parsons, M.D. F.R.S. to the Royal Society, giving a Short Account of His Book Intituled, A Mechanical Critical Inquiry into the Nature of Hermaphrodites. London, 1741. in 8vo," *Philosophical Transactions* 41 (1739-41), XLI, 651.

is nicely portrayed in both the surviving manuscript sketch which accompanied Timothy Sheldrake's letter and the subsequent printed version (Figure 77). The infant also suffered from some cranio-facial disfiguration and abnormalities of the trunk and arms and was born alive, though she died soon after. The child's mother had been found guilty of shoplifting in 1734 and was sentenced to transportation, to be carried out after she had given birth. She reported that she could not think of a rational explanation for this unusual birth, as she had given birth to normal children before, unless the abnormalities could be blamed on "the strange Apprehensions that her Sentence had put her under, from the uncommon Creatures the Country to which she was sentenced might bring in her Sight". Though Sheldrake did not exactly admit to believing this explanation – he stated that "she often asserted" the truth of the story – he at least hedged his bets regarding the possibility of maternal impression.²⁸⁰ Despite the unusual case history, the letter itself was only two pages long, and its accompanying etching was quite small, fit into what appears to have been a blank corner of one of the journal's fold-out plates. This can be compared to the eleven pages and multiple full plates dedicated to Helen and Judith or the articles arguing back and forth about Anna Wilde's "true" sex.

Some monsters reported to the Royal Society were apparently deemed of little enough interest that they never made it into the *Philosophical Transactions*. For example, William Wyatt described a male infant born in 1707 with malformed arms in a letter to Dr. Plumpton, "one of the Comissionrs for sick & Wounded Seamen &c", who

²⁸⁰ Timothy Sheldrake, "A Letter from Mr. Timothy Sheldrake to Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. Pr. R. S. &c. concerning a Monstrous Child Born of a Woman under Sentence of Transportation", *Philosophical Transactions* 41 (1739-41), 341-3. See also BL Sloane 4025, 245r-246r. Sir Hans Sloane, Baronet: Philosophical Papers Communicated to: 17th-18th Cent. London; Societies, Scientific. Royal Society: Philosophical Transactions: 1665-1742.

presumably passed both the letter and its accompanying sketch (Figure 78) on to the Society.²⁸¹ Likewise left out of the journal was the description and sketch of a presumed *mola* which was voided by a Hanoverian woman in 1701 (Figure 79), which had been mentioned in a letter that William Windes sent to his father.²⁸² By the early eighteenth century, the journal had been printing about monsters for decades and even letters describing conjoined twins – such as that written by William Burnet about Helen and Judith in 1708 – were not printed unless accompanied by an extensive anatomical description. Perhaps Wyatt’s boy and the Hanoverian *mola* were simply not monstrous enough for the editors to choose to include them on the journal’s pages.

In 1781, the man-midwife Robert Bland sent a letter to the Royal Society detailing the birthing record of the Westminster General Dispensary since it opened its doors in 1774. In these seven years, 1,897 women had given birth to 1,923 infants, eight of whom Bland identified as monstrous: “1 was web-fingered; 1 had a hare-lip; 1 had a dropsical head and distorted spine; 1 a dropsical head; in 1 a part of the palate; and in 2 a considerable portion of the cranium was wanting; and 1 had two heads”. The last of these infants was pictured in a high-quality etching that accompanied the article (Figure 80), as was a *mola* that had shared a woman’s womb with a healthy female twin (Figure 81).²⁸³ While these abnormal births did not occasion their own letters to the Society, they

²⁸¹ RS EL/W3/96, William Wyatt, Dated at Plymouth, to Dr Plumpton, 14 December 1708.

²⁸² BL Sloane 4063, 129r-130v. James Petiver, FRS, Apothecary to the Charter-House: Miscellaneous Correspondence: 1697-1718/9, and n.d. Sir Hans Sloane, Baronet: Original Correspondence, Chronologically Arranged: 17th-18th Cent.

²⁸³ Robert Bland, “Some Calculations of the Number of Accidents or Deaths Which Happen in Consequence of Parturition; And of the Proportion of Male to Female Children, as Well as of Twins, Monstrous Productions, and Children That are Dead-Born; Taken from the Midwifery Reports of the Westminster General Dispensary: With an Attempt to Ascertain the Chance of Life at Different Periods,

were still deemed significant enough to merit detailed etchings, of a quality with those picturing Helen and Judith. Even toward the end of the eighteenth century, a period often associated with the Enlightenment and the “anti-marvelous”, monsters held their place in the *Philosophical Transactions*.²⁸⁴

Monsters belonged on the pages of the *Philosophical Transactions* because the Royal Society embraced Francis Bacon’s call to examine errors of nature alongside their more perfect examples. Though not every case of unusual anatomy sent to the Society was deemed sufficiently detailed, interesting, or monstrous enough by the journal’s editors to merit publication, descriptions of nearly a hundred monstrous births appeared in the first 135 years of its existence. Conjoined twins often received detailed descriptions, while hermaphrodites elicited vehement disagreements between anatomists, but all cases of monstrosity could assist in forming a comprehensive understanding of the universe. In Francis Bacon’s words, “from the speculation and consideration of [marvels,] light may be taken, not only for the discerning of the offences, but for the further disclosing of nature”.²⁸⁵ The next chapter moves beyond the pages of the *Philosophical Transactions* to examine how two Fellows of the Royal Society, as well as a domestic servant who was tangentially related to the Society, personally interacted with monstrosity in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century London.

from Infancy to Twenty-Six Years of Age; And Like-Wise the Proportion of Natives to the Rest of the Inhabitants of London. In a Letter from Robert Bland, M. D. Physician-Man-Midwife to the Westminster General Dispensary, to Samuel Foart Simmons, M. D. F. R. S.”, *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* 71 (1781), 355-71.

²⁸⁴ Daston and Park use the phrase “anti-marvelous” to describe how “European intellectuals, strongly oriented toward if not resident in metropolises like London, Paris, and Amsterdam, came to disdain both wonder and wonders in the first half of the eighteenth century”. Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, 329.

²⁸⁵ Bacon, “The Second Book of Francis Bacon,” 331.

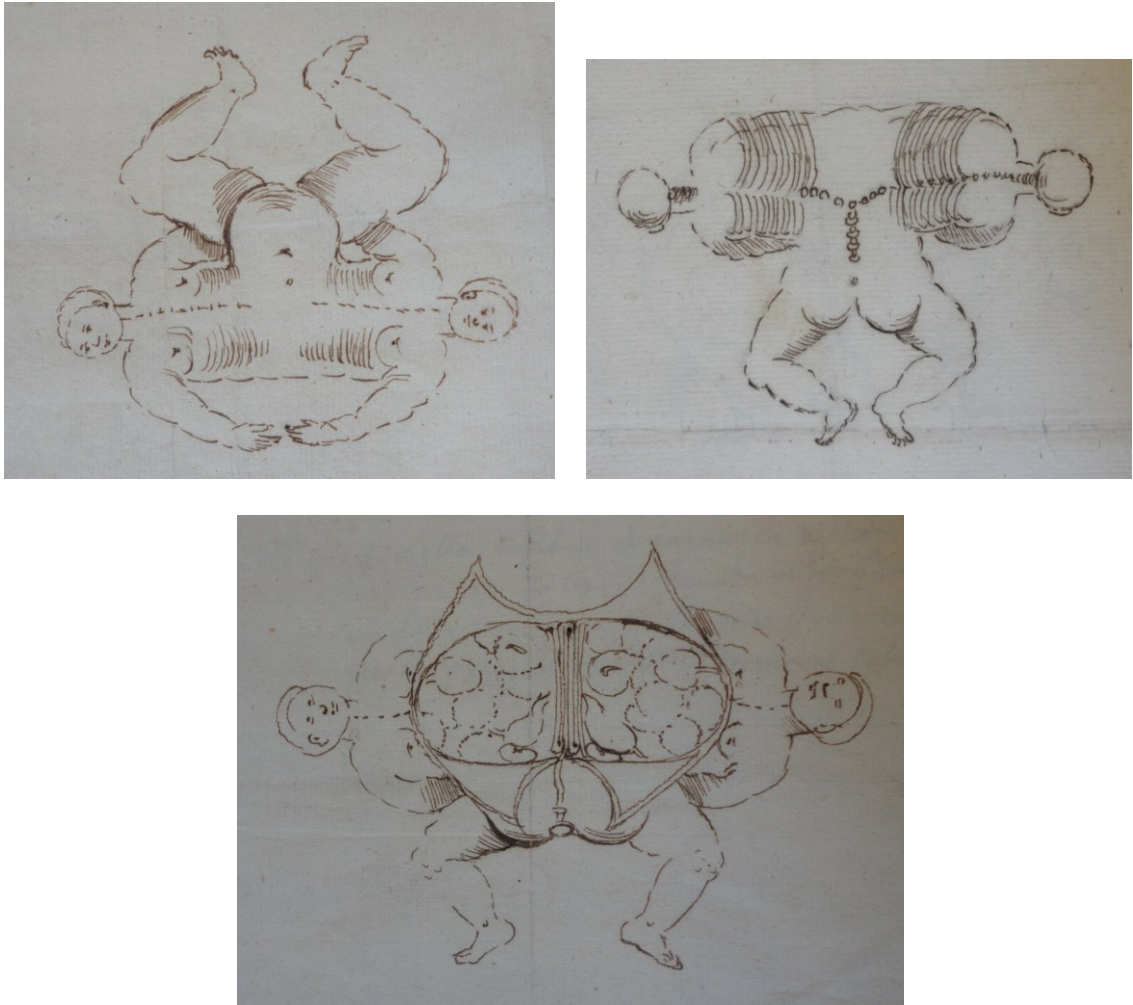


Figure 68 - The Waterman Twins 1

Martha and Mary Waterman, from front, back, and during dissection, in pen-and-ink sketches accompanying the letter sent to the Royal Society by Roger Baskett. While obviously not drawn by an artist – this is particularly clear in the third sketch, in which the girls' internal organs are little more than blobs – the witness clearly took his time on the externally visible details, such as their apparently prominent ribs and spine. RS Cl.P, vol. 13, no. 2.

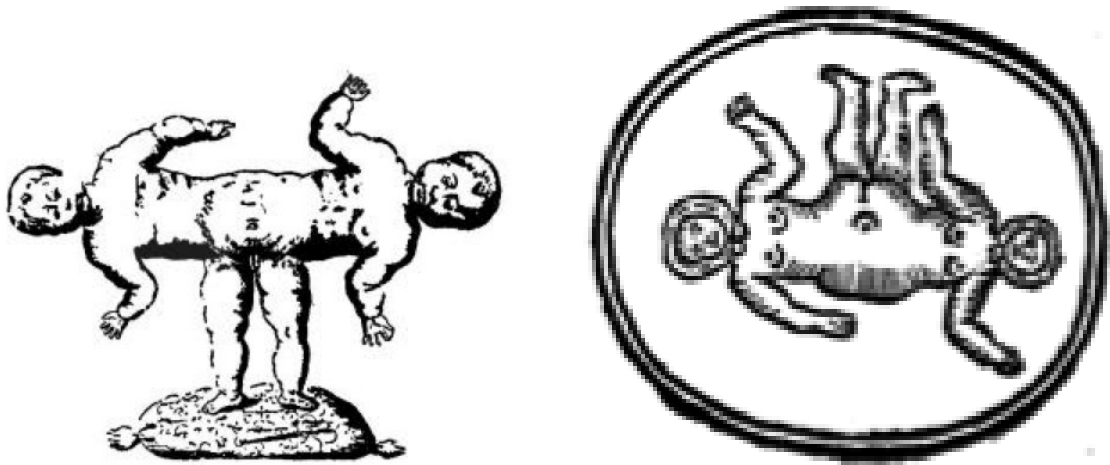


Figure 69 - The Waterman Twins 2

Martha and Mary Waterman, as pictured in *The True Picture of a Female Monster Born near Salisbury* (left) and *Natures Wonder?* (right). Printing illustrated ballads and pamphlets of monstrous births continued throughout the seventeenth century (see also Chapter 1). Anonymous, *Natures Wonder?*, single sheet. Anonymous, *The True Picture of a Female Monster Born near Salisbury*, 140.



Figure 70 - The Monstrous Head Described by Boyle

Robert Boyle's monstrous calf's head. The dissection found the head to have no nose, a single double eye, and an unidentifiable bag coming out of the forehead. If Boyle's attempt to adequately preserve the head had succeeded, it very well could have ended up either in the Repository or on London's show circuit (see Chapter 2). [Oldenburg?], "Observables upon a Monstrous Head", 85-6.

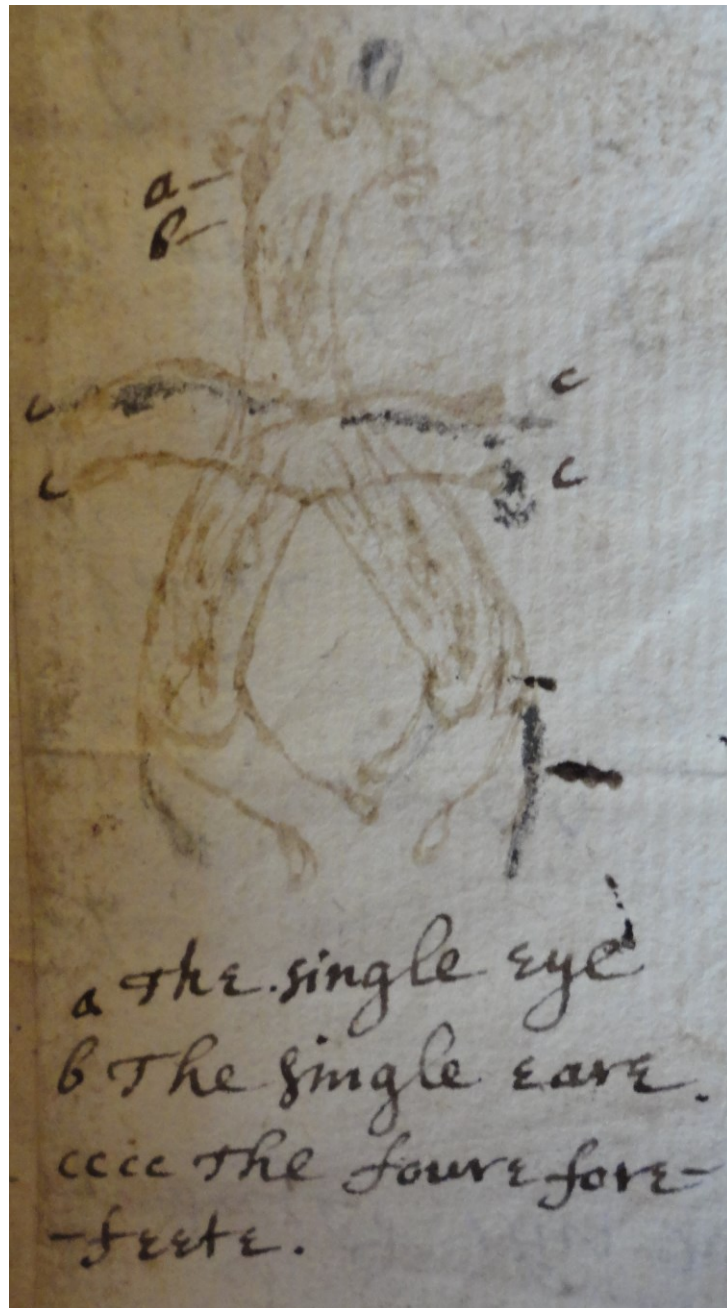


Figure 71 - Conjoined Lamb Sketch

The sketch of a conjoined white lamb, from a small scrap of paper included in Samuel Colepresse's letter to Henry Oldenburg; though the notations are in Colepresse's hand, he was not the artist. RS EL/C1/14.

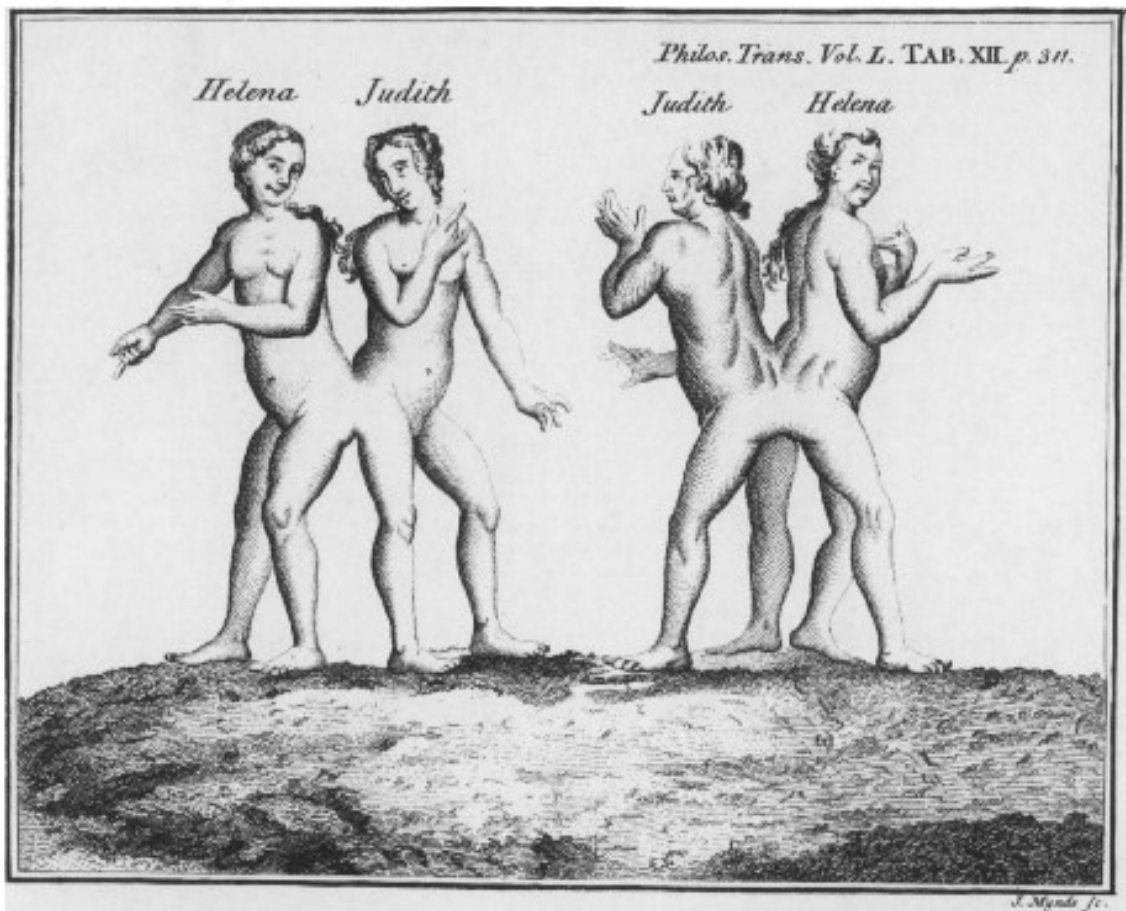


Figure 72 - The Twins Helen and Judith 1

The first of two etchings of Helen and Judith from the 1757 *Philosophical Transactions* article. Torkos and Burnet, *et al.*, "Observationes Anatomico-Medicae", Tab. XII.



Figure 73 - The Twins Helen and Judith 2

The second etching of the Hungarian twins from the 1757 *Philosophical Transactions* article. The inscription reads:

Two sisters wonderful [to] behold, who thus have grown as one,
That nought their bodies can divide, no pow'r beneath the sun.
The town of Szoenii gave them birth, hard by far-famed Komorn,
Which noble fort may all the arts of Turkish sultans scorn.
Lucina – woman's gentle friend – did Helen first receive,
And Judith, when three hours had passed, her mother's womb did leave.
One urine-passage serves for both, one anus, so they tell;
The other parts their numbers keep, and serve their owners well.
Their parents poor did send them forth, the world to travel through,
That this great wonder of the age should not be hid from view.
The inner parts concealed do lie, hid from our eyes, alas!

But all the body here you view, erect in solid brass.²⁸⁶

The capitalized letters in the final two lines of the original Latin verses form a chronogram which adds up to 1701, the year of the sisters' birth. Torkos and Burnet, *et al.*, "Observationes Anatomico-Medicae", Tab. XIII. Chronogram identification courtesy of British Museum catalogue entry for Z,1.162, accessed 7 September 2012,

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=3358026&partid=1&searchText=twins&fromDate=1700&fromADBC=ad&toDate=1800&toADBC=ad&numpages=10&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx¤tPage=1.

²⁸⁶ Translation by Medical Society of the State of New York, *Transactions*, 227. Apparently this poem was originally composed as an inscription for a bronze statuette of the sisters.



Figure 74 - The Twins Helen and Judith 3

The etching of Helen and Judith, which appears opposite the last page of the Folger's copy of the anonymous pamphlet *The Strange Monster or, True News from Nottingham-Shire*. Interestingly, the etching may not originally have been bound with this set of pamphlets (see Chapter 1). The inscription at the top of the page reads, "Londini 14. Junii 1708. Has vidi gemellas (plus annis sex natas) quarum forma & vivacitas elegantior & vegetior, quam pictura, descriptio subscripta, aut ipsa fama loquuntur", which nearly matches an inscription described in the *Philosophical Transactions* article as pertaining to a "MS. note in a copy of the print bound up by the writer [of the note] with Fortunius Licetus *de Monstris*, edit. Amstelod. 1665. 4to. in the possession of Thomas Wilbraham, M.D. F.R.S."²⁸⁷ It seems extremely likely that the print now bound with *The Strange Monster or, True News from Nottingham-shire* is the same as that once bound with

²⁸⁷ The version in the journal article reads, "Londini 14. Junii 1708. has vidi gemellas (plus annis sex natas) quarum forma et vivacitas elegantior et vegetior quam pictura et descriptio". Torkos and Burnet, et al., "Observationes Anatomico-Medicae," 316-7.

Wilbraham's copy of *Fortunius Licetus De Monstris*.²⁸⁸ However, this makes the collection of seven tracts even more unusual, as presumably this etching was once bound with a book of monsters and eventually came to be re-bound with a set of monstrous pamphlets. Anonymous, *Corpora Binarum Sic Concrerere Sororum* ([London?, 1708?]), single page.

²⁸⁸ The Folger Shakespeare Library does not own a copy of the 1665 *De Monstris*, and I was unable to find the current location of Wilbraham's copy, if indeed it is still extant.

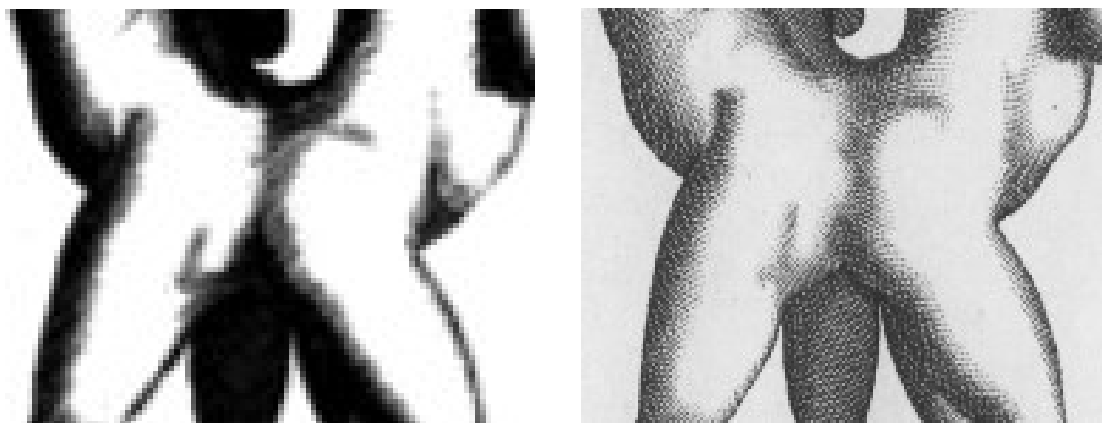


Figure 75 - Detail of the Twins Helen and Judith

A close examination of the 1708 etching (Figure 74, left) and Tab. XIII (Figure 73, right) can reveal that, despite the extreme similarity of these images, the cross-hatched shading of the etchings is noticeably different and therefore the 1708 etching is not simply a coarser imprint from the same plate. Anonymous, *Corpora Binarum Sic Concrerere Sororum*, single page. Torkos and Burnet, *et al.*, “Observationes Anatomico-Medicae”, Tab. XIII.

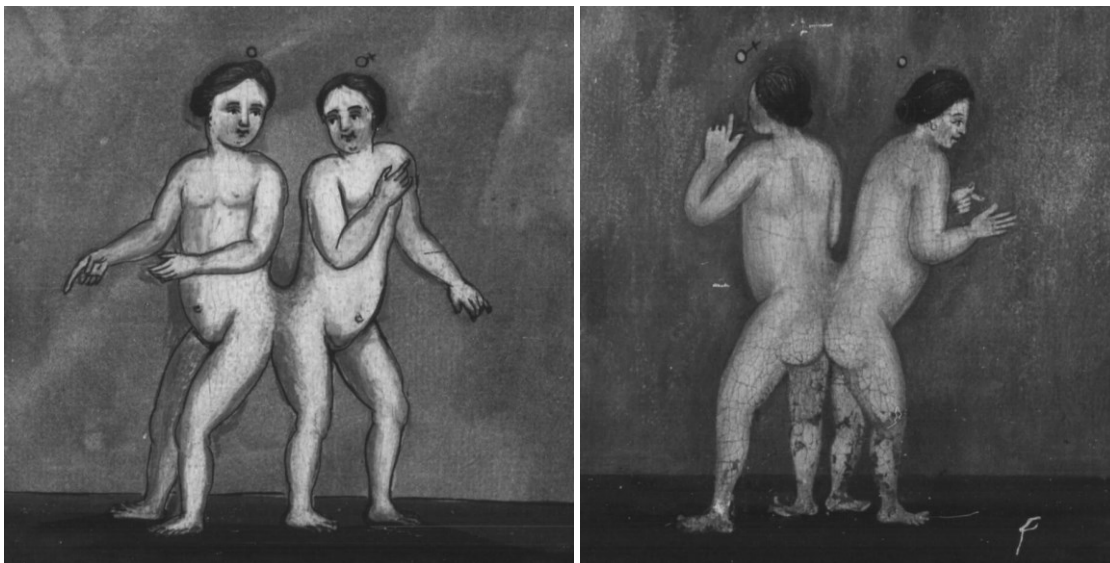


Figure 76 - The Twins Helen and Judith 4

Helen and Judith, hand-painted in James Paris du Plessis's manuscript book. The page containing the back view of the twins also includes a carefully-copied transcription of the Latin inscription below the image in Figures 73-74. As Paris finished his book before about 1741, when he sold it to Sir Hans Sloane (see Chapter 5), this indicates that at least one early print of the twins, must have also contained the creative poem and chronogram. BL Sloane 5246, ff. 24r, 25r.

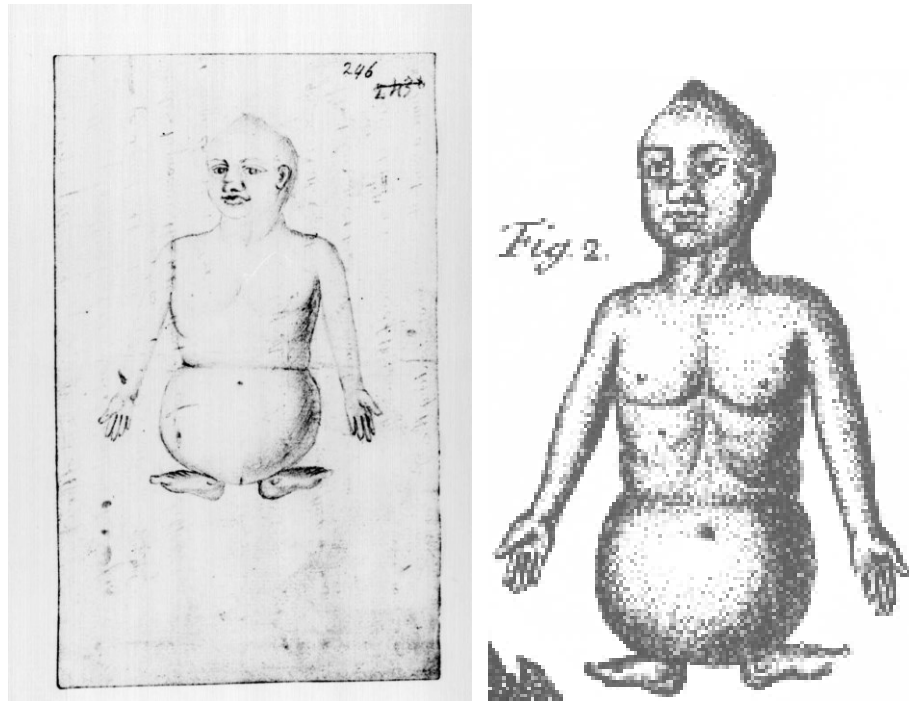


Figure 77 - Sheldrake's Monstrous Child

The original sketch (left) and printed version (right) of a girl born without the long bones of the legs, which the mother blamed on her fear of the monsters she might be exposed to once her sentence of Transportation had been carried out. This congenital disorder is referred to as phocomelia, meaning “seal-limb”.²⁸⁹ BL Sloane 4025, 246r. Sheldrake, “A Letter from Mr. Timothy Sheldrake”, 341-3.

²⁸⁹ Armand Marie Leroi, *Mutants: On Genetic Variety and the Human Body* (New York: Penguin Books: 2003), 119.



Figure 78 - Wyatt's Monstrous Child

The boy with malformed arms described by William Wyatt; this case was not printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*. RS EL/W3/96.

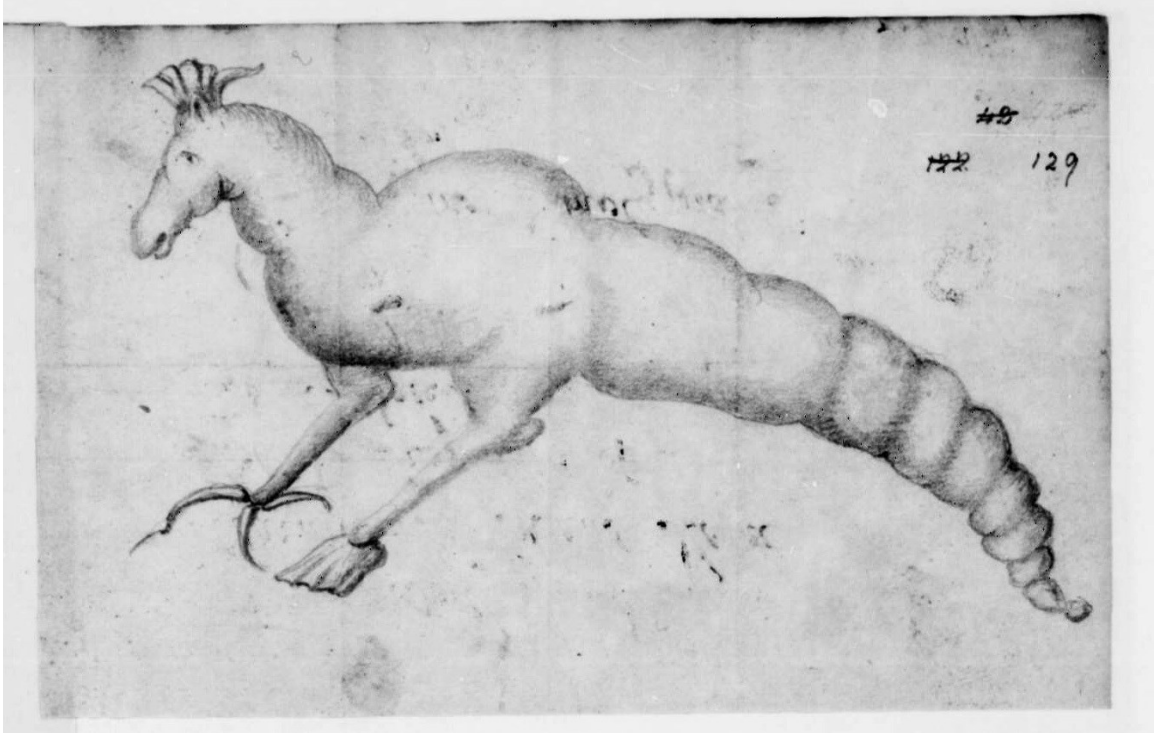


Figure 79 - The Voided Hanoverian Monster

This pencil sketch of a monster voided by a Hanoverian woman appears not to have made it into print in the *Philosophical Transactions*. BL Sloane 4063, 129r.

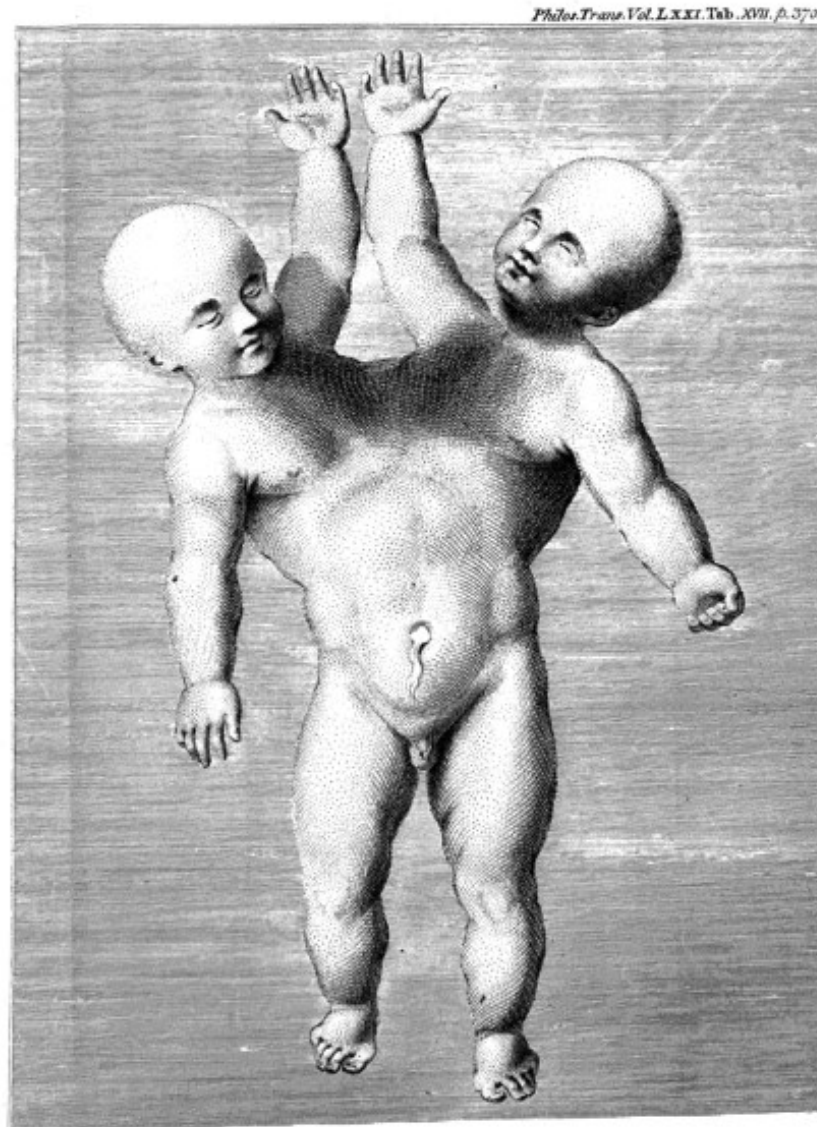


Figure 80 - The Westminster General Dispensary Twins

The two-headed boy, “the child of Elizabeth wife of _____ [sic] Bromfield, Peruke-maker, Jeess-court, Oxford-street”, born at the Westminster General Dispensary. “Dr. Hunter”, presumably the surgeon and anatomist John Hunter, FRS, performed the dissection. Bland, “Some Calculations of the Number of Accidents or Deaths”, 362*n.*, 363*n.*

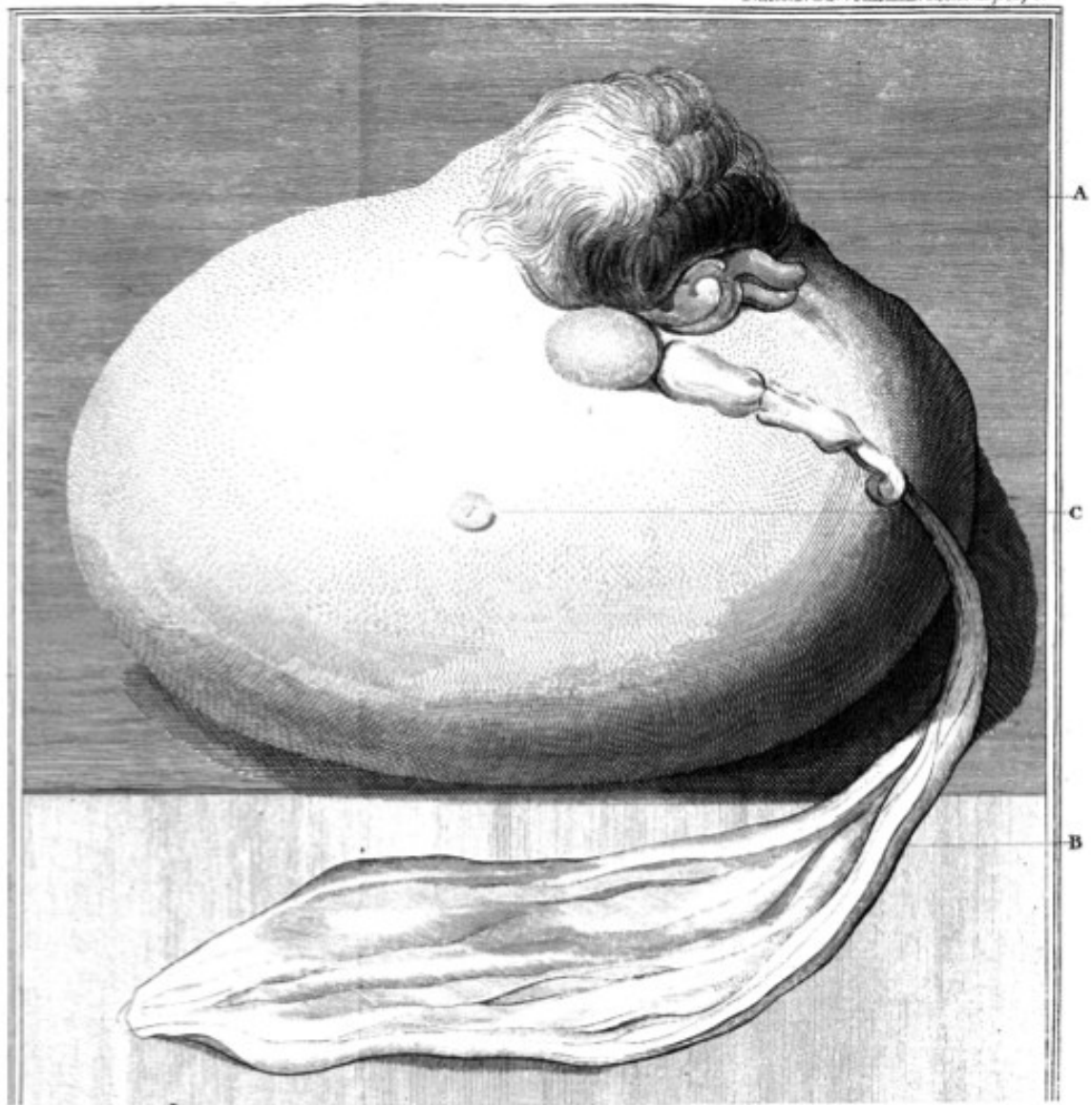


Figure 81 - The Westminster General Dispensary Mola

The mola described by Robert Bland in his article on birth statistics from the Westminster General Dispensary, 1774-1781. Bland, "Some Calculations of the Number of Accidents or Deaths", Tab. XVIII.

Chapter 5: Collecting Knowledge: London Diarists and James Paris du Plessis

I have seen in London á Cow who had about 100. Horns. Growing all about her body like Horny hard Excrecences of the perfect nature of horne, but of an Iregular forme about 3 or 4 Inches Long, some Longer and som shorter 2 on her head Like other cows horns Regular In form and very well formed. The other hnerd [hundred] on her back, Belly, shoulders, buttocks and all other parts exopt her head who had but 2. as other cows haue. It was asmal [a small] creature very brisk and liuely and all other Respects a perfect Creature.²⁹⁰

Featured at the end of the second volume of James Paris du Plessis's manuscript monster collection, this description from 1737 emphasizes both the experience of viewing monsters on show in London (as seen in Chapter 2 above) and scientifically detailing their appearances (see Chapter 4 below). As a relatively well-heeled member of London's working population (at least until the very end of his life) Paris was able to view, read about, and record nearly four hundred instances of monsters, prodigies, and marvels occurring in Britain and on the Continent in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

This chapter examines the written reactions of three Londoners to physical monstrosity – the diarists Samuel Pepys (1633–1703) and John Evelyn (1620–1706), and the domestic servant James Paris du Plessis (1667?–after 1737) – in order to demonstrate human reactions to the types of knowledge transfer discussed in the preceding four chapters. Early modern Londoners recorded their own experiences with monstrosity, and

²⁹⁰ BL Sloane MS 3253, 52v. James Paris Du Plessis, Servant to Samuel Pepys: Collection of Wonderful Prodigies: 1730-1733.

Paris even collected every reference to monstrosity that he could lay his hands on, because they were news- and gossip-worthy entertainment that could also, under the proper circumstances, provide knowledge of the internal workings of Nature. Interestingly, all three of these men were associated both with each other and, either directly or tangentially, with the Royal Society. John Evelyn (FRS) was friends with Samuel Pepys (FRS and Royal Society President) toward the end of Pepys's life. In turn, Pepys employed James Paris du Plessis as a domestic servant; there is no evidence that Evelyn and Paris had any contact with each other, but it is certainly possible, particularly considering that Paris had personal contact with Sir Hans Sloane (likewise FRS and Royal Society President) toward the end of Paris's life. Whereas Evelyn and Pepys mentioned monstrous births in relation to other forms of entertainment or biological curiosities which they saw periodically at London fairs or in a variety of private museums, Paris assembled a manuscript compendium of human and animal prodigies based upon monsters displayed at fairs and written about in newspapers. Thus, these two gentlemen naturalists and a domestic servant offer us evidence of how various Londoners may have experienced monstrosity.

Samuel Pepys loved attending fairs, sometimes watching the same show multiple times during a given fair, and he recorded his impressions of the quality of the entertainment in his *Diary*. He saw dancing monkeys, Italian rope dancers, and tumbling women in two trips to Bartholomew Fair in 1661. The 1667 Fair featured "a poor fellow, whose legs were tied behind his back" who alternately danced on his hands or on crutches; Pepys was "sorry to see" the evident pain that the performer was in "and did

pity him and give him money after he had done”. In 1668, Bartholomew Fair boasted a performing mare at the sizeable price of a shilling per show, a day’s wages for a builder in the 1680s. On 1 September, she “came to me when she was bid to go to him of the company that most loved a pretty wench in a corner” (in which the horse showed great discernment: between 1660 and 1669, Pepys mentioned sexual contact with more than 50 “pretty wenches” in his *Diary*). By the time he saw the horse again on the 7th, though, her performance had deteriorated: “today, I find her to act much worse then the other day, she forgetting many things, which her master did beat her for and was mightily vexed”.

At Charing Cross in 1664 he

saw the great Dutchman that is come over, under whose arm I went with my hat on and could not reach higher then his eyebrows with the tip of my fingers, reaching as high as I could. He is a comely and well-made man ... It is true he wears pretty high-heeled shoes, but not very high, and doth generally wear a Turbant, which makes him show yet taller then really he is, though he is very tall as I have said before.

He had similar things to say about a tall woman whom he saw twice in 1669, “which is but twenty-one years old and I do easily stand under her arms”; he measured her in February “and she is, without shoes, just 6 feet-5 inch high”. In July and again in October 1667, Pepys viewed

the great Boy and Girle that are lately come out of Ireland; the latter, eight, the former but four years old, of most prodigious bigness for their age. I tried to weigh them in my arms, and find them twice as heavy as people almost twice their age; and yet I am apt to believe they are very young – their father a little sorry fellow, and their mother an old Irish woman. They have had four children of this bigness and four of ordinary growth, whereof two of each are dead. If (as my Lord Ormond certifies) it be true that they are no older, it is very monstrous.

When Pepys saw the children the second time, they had been joined by their brother and sister, “which are of little ordinary growth, like other people; but Lord, how strange it is to observe the difference between the same children, come out of the same little woman’s belly”.²⁹¹

Pepys viewed a bearded woman in December 1668 whom he named as Ursula Dyan from Denmark but whom his modern editors identify as Barbara Urslerin, born in Germany in 1629 (Figure 82). Pepys described her as “about forty years old, her voice like a little girl’s, with a beard as much as any man I ever saw, as black almost, and grizzly”. Her handler offered Pepys’s wife “further satisfaction” of the woman’s female sex, presumably a behind-the-curtains peek at her genitalia, but Elisabeth Pepys appears to have declined. In any case, Pepys declared that “there is no doubt but by her voice she is a woman; [her beard] begun to grow at about seven years old – and was shaved not above seven months ago, and is now so big as any man almost that ever I saw, I say, bushy and thick. It was a strange sight to me, I confess, and what pleased me mightily”.²⁹² John Evelyn had also been impressed with Urslerin when he saw her in 1657:

I also saw the hairy Maid, or Woman whom 20 years before I had also seene when a child: her very Eyebrowes were combed upward, & all her forehead as thick & even as growes on any womans head, neatly dress’d: There come also two locks very long out of Each Eare: she had also a most prolix beard, & *mustachios*, with long locks of haire growing on the very middle of her nose, exactly like an Island Dog: the rest of her body not so hairy, yet exceeding long in

²⁹¹ Lord Ormond was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, edited by Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970-83), vol. 2: 166, 172; vol. 5: 242-3; vol. 8: 326, 423, 500; vol. 9: 297, 301, 406-7, 440. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, 48. Geoffrey Parker, *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), 593.

²⁹² Pepys, *The Diary*, vol. 9: 398, 398n.2.

comparison, armes, neck, breast & back; the Colour of a bright browne, & fine as well dressed flax: She was now married, & told me had one Child, that was not hairy, as nor were any of her parents or relations: she was borne at *Ausburg* in *Germanie*, & for the rest very well shaped, plaied well on the Harpsichord &c.²⁹³

The differences between Pepys's and Evelyn's descriptions of Urslerin's appearance – a “black” and “grizzly” beard versus hair of “a bright browne, & fine as well dressed flax” – are not easy to reconcile. Other contemporary accounts more closely follow Evelyn than Pepys, and it seems likely that Pepys actually saw a different hairy woman.²⁹⁴

Like Pepys, Evelyn attended fairs and other public entertainments throughout London, where he viewed a number of monsters and other curiosities. On 13 September 1660, at the Southwark or Our Lady Fair, for example, he saw both conjoined and parasitic twins:

A monstrous birth of Twinns, both females & most perfectly shaped, save that they were joyn'd breast to breast, & incorporated at the *navil*, having their armes throwne about each other thus: [Figure 83]. It was reported quick in *May* last, & producd neere Turne-style *Holborn*: well exenterated [disembowelled] & preserved till now: We saw also a poore Woman, that had a living Child of one yeare old, who had its head, neck, with part of a Thigh growing out about *Spina dorsi*: The head had the place of *Eyes* & nose, but none perfected. The head monstrous, rather resembling a greate Wenn; & hanging on the buttocks, at side whereoff, & not in the due place, were (as I remembred) the excrements it avoided [*sic*].

Also on show at the fair were a troupe of performing monkeys and a high-wire dancer, accompanied by her strongman father. When in 1667 “divers curious persons went to see” the 21-year-old hermaphrodite Anna Wilde (see Chapter 4), Evelyn “would not”

²⁹³ According to Jan Bondeson, Urslerin's first visit to London was in 1655 at age 22, though Evelyn's assertion that he had first seen her as a child suggests that she had been in England at least once before. John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, edited by E.S. de Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955; reprinted 2000), vol. 3: 198. Bondeson, *Freaks*, 23.

²⁹⁴ Bondeson, *Freaks*, 21-5.

view her, perhaps out of prudery. However, he did write a brief description of her appearance: “an *Hermaphrodite* shew’d both *Sexes* very perfectly, the *Penis* onely not perforated, went for a woman, but was more man”.²⁹⁵ As Evelyn’s manuscript was not strictly written as a *diary*, instead consisting at least in part of “free copies of his original notes” which were compiled into a daily format at some later time, his brief description of Wilde’s appearance could conceivably have come from Thomas Allen’s letter to the Royal Society, published in the *Philosophical Transactions*; as a Fellow of the Society, Evelyn would almost certainly have received his own copy of the publication.²⁹⁶

Evelyn also enjoyed private performances at the houses of his friends and associates: in 1672, “the fopperies of the Papists at Somerset house, & York-house” in the form of an Easter puppet show; “*Richardson*, the famous *Fire-Eater*” at Leicester House in 1672 and again in 1684 at “*Sir St. Foxes*”; and at “my *La: Sunderlands*” in 1676, “a fellow swallow[ed] a knife, & divers greate pibble stones, which shaking his stomach, would make a plaine rattling one against another”. While travelling, Evelyn made a point of visiting local curiosity, anatomy, and natural history collections, including those belonging to John Tradescant, Elias Ashmole, Hans Sloane, and even Samuel Pepys, whose house Evelyn described as “wonderfully well furnished ... especially with all the Indys & Chineze Curiositys, almost any where to be mett with”. But perhaps one of Evelyn’s most singular experiences was also his most unexpected: while over-nighting at the White Cross Inn in Orleans, France, a cat give birth to kittens

²⁹⁵ Evelyn, *The Diary*, vol. 3: 255-6, 492.

²⁹⁶ E.S. de Beer, “Introduction” in *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955; reprinted 2000), vol. 1: 70. Allen, “An Exact Narrative of an Hermaphrodite”, 624-5.

on his bed, “which left on it a Young one having 6 Eares, eight leggs, two bodys from the navil downewards, & two tayles: which strange Monster, I found dead; but warme by me in the Morning when I awaked”.²⁹⁷ Unfortunately, he does not seem to have brought it back to London for the Royal Society’s Repository. Evelyn certainly sought out unusual sights and experiences, though he also had acquaintances through the Royal Society and other polite circles who fed into his fascination with the singular.

On the opposite side of the socio-economic spectrum from the gentlemen Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn was the domestic servant James Paris du Plessis. We have met Paris elsewhere: in Chapter 1, he was one of the many authors duped by stories of a hog-faced gentlewoman in London, and he was cited as an expert on the Hungarian conjoined twins Helen and Judith in Chapter 4. But in direct contrast to Pepys and Evelyn, very little is known about Paris; teasing out the details of his life can therefore put a face on a lower status consumer of monstrous media.²⁹⁸ What little evidence exists about Paris’s life can be gleaned from passing references in Samuel Pepys’s letter book and Paris’s two-volume manuscript compilation, *A Short History of Human Prodigious & Monstrous Births of Dwarfs, Sleepers, Giants, Strong Men, Hermaphrodites, Numerous Births, and Extreame Old Age &c.* (discussed below).²⁹⁹ Paris was likely born at his family’s house

²⁹⁷ Evelyn, *The Diary*, vol. 2: 136; vol. 3: 198-9, 217, 612, 626-7; vol. 4: 87, 138-9359; vol. 5: 48, 427-8.

²⁹⁸ John Evelyn’s diary was first published in 1818 and Samuel Pepys’s (in part) in 1825, in contrast with James Paris du Plessis’s monsters compendium, which remains in manuscript form. C.S. Knighton, “Samuel Pepys (1633–1703)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004-) accessed 4 July 2013, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21906>.

²⁹⁹ James Aubrey describes Paris as “an obscure Frenchman” and does not attempt to identify Paris’s biography beyond the details featured in Paris’s letter to Hans Sloane (see below). Aubrey’s assertion that Paris made “fallacious claims to have seen first-hand . . . monsters that he has instead appropriated from earlier books” is an inaccurate reading of Paris’s descriptions of “A Monstrous Hairy and Moldy Woman” and “A spotted Negro Prince”. Contrary to Aubrey’s assertion that these monsters were co-opted from the

“att Pluviers or Pithiviers in Gastinois in France” – a town about fifty miles south of Paris – and he was an adolescent around the year 1680, when a local woman gave birth to a two-headed monster in Paris’s “Maternal House”, under the care of Paris’s uncle, “the Sieur Martel, Famous Doctor of Physick and Surgeon in the said Town” (Figure 84).³⁰⁰ The child was born dead, “wrapped in a Clean Linnen Cloth and put in a little wooddon Box, and Buried very Privately” in the part of the garden which had been “Given to me, to play the Gardiner in, that I shuld not wast, the other parts”. Paris, being a “very Inquisitive and Whatchfull” boy, happened upon the monster’s box a few days later “and by it I Discovered part of the Mistery” that his mother had tried to keep from him. Quite fittingly, as this event apparently sparked Paris’s fascination with monstrous births, he began *A Short History* with this account.³⁰¹

Paris had arrived in England by age fifteen, as he saw “such another Child [identical] in all Respects” to the stillborn monster from his childhood “att Marybone

hairy woman and black boy featured in Boaistuau and elsewhere, the descriptions in Paris and Boaistuau are actually nothing alike. Moreover, whereas Aubrey dismisses these cases as “superficial characteristics of hirsuteness and skin discoloration”, we know from the case of Barbara Urslerin, for example, that such appearances were considered appropriately monstrous by London audiences. And though I have found no corresponding description of the “Hairy and Moldy Woman”, the “spotted Negro Prince” suffered from piebalding, a recognized pigmentation disorder, and was not, as Aubrey asserts, simply “racially mixed”. Surekha Davies suggests that the boy may have been the same as that described in a 1697 letter written to the Royal Society by William Byrd, though if this is the case, Paris found his information of the boy elsewhere, as the details differ in the two accounts. James Aubrey, “Revising the Monstrous: du Plessis’ *Short History of Prodigies* and London Culture in 1730”, *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 23 (1994), 75-91; quotations 76, 79, 82, 88. Surekha Davies, “Monsters Incorporated: Framing Anatomical Difference in Early Modern England”, paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Chicago, Illinois, January 4-8, 2012. BL Add. MS 5246, 10r-11v. James Paris Du Plessis, *Servant to Samuel Pepys: A Short History of Human Prodigious & Monstrous Births of Dwarfs, Sleepers, Giants, Strong Men, Hemaphrodites, Numerous Births, and Extreame Old Age &c.* Will[iam] Byrd, “An Account of a Negro-Boy That is Dappel’d in Several Places of His Body with White Spots. By Will. Byrd, Esq. F. R. S.”, *Philosophical Transactions* 19 (1695-97), 781-2.

³⁰⁰ The town’s name is correctly spelled “Pithiviers”. BL Add. MS 5246, 4r-5v.

³⁰¹ Add. MS 5246, 4r-5v.

near London” at around this age.³⁰² He worked for an unknown period of time as a domestic servant to Samuel Pepys “In yorck buildings” and remained in his service until Pepys died in 1703.³⁰³ According to Pepys’s nephew and heir John Jackson, Paris was present at Pepys’s death, being kissed goodbye the day before and then the bearer of news of Pepys’s imminent demise to Jackson: “About 1 on Wednesday morning [26 May 1703], Paris crossed the room. U[n]cle called him and askt for me [Jackson], where I was. ‘In bed; shall I call him?’ ‘No.’ By and by again asked for me. ‘Shall I call him?’ ‘Yes.’ He did so, and I came and found [Pepys] lying on the bed ratling in the throat and breathing very hard”. Paris was not mentioned by name in the list of recipients of rings and mourning at Pepys’s funeral, though Paris likely fell under the category of “Domesticks at his [Pepys’s] Death, viz. ... His own 7 men and women servants”, each of whom received mourning clothes.³⁰⁴ Paris was also servant to “Mr Laud Doyley In the Strand of most honorable memory” and to several other unnamed persons, one of whom Paris worked under for the last 37 years of his career.³⁰⁵ Having lived his adult life in England working for Protestants and having married one of the daughters of “James De

³⁰² James Aubrey mistakenly asserts that Paris “was fifteen and still living in France” in 1680. Rather, Paris says that he was fifteen when he saw a similar, two-headed child in London. BL Add. MS 5246, 4r-5v. Aubrey, “Revising the Monstrous,” 77.

³⁰³ Pepys lived first in number 12 and then number 14 York Buildings, Buckingham Street between 1679 and 1701. Though Pepys’s servants merit their own *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry, Paris is not mentioned among them, likely because he did not enter Pepys’s household until after the diary’s end-point. BL Add. MS 5246, 3r. G. H. Gater and E. P. Wheeler, “Buckingham Street”, in *Survey of London: volume 18: St Martin-in-the-Fields II: The Strand* (1937), British History Online, accessed 20 November 2012, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=68273>.

³⁰⁴ J.R. Tanner (ed.), *Private Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Samuel Pepys 1679-1703 in the Possession of J. Pepys Cockerell*, 2 vols. (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1926), vol. 2: 313-5.

³⁰⁵ BL Add. MS 5246, 3r. BL Sloane MS 3253, 49v. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* contains no entry for a Laud Doyley, nor was he a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Sonne a french Protestant of Deep [Dieppe] in Normandy”, Paris was likely Protestant himself.³⁰⁶

John Jackson himself was quite familiar with Paris, as he had accompanied Jackson as a servant during Jackson’s Grand Tour of 1699 to 1701.³⁰⁷ Apparently Paris proved an entertaining travel companion, as Jackson wrote to Pepys in October of 1699 that “Paris has had the good fortune to pass hitherto wholly unquestioned; going by the name of Patisson, a Scotch man, and speaking broken French in perfection”. Apparently others back in England were also in on the joke, as Paul Lorrain asked after “Mr Pattison” in the post scripts to two separate letters sent to Jackson.³⁰⁸ Paris repeatedly “begg[ed] leave to present his humble duty to you [Pepys]” at the end of Jackson’s letters home, and Pepys returned the favor by congratulating Paris (a bit belatedly) on the birth of Paris’s “daughter of a month olde”.³⁰⁹ Paris, in turn, did not hear the news of the birth for a further month, having temporarily been “left at Naples” and not reuniting with Jackson until 11 March, at which point he “was not a little delighted with the tidings of his having a daughter, beggs your [Pepys’s] acceptance of his humble duty, and (with your leave) blesses her”. In 1701, Paris’s wife enclosed something – whether it was her own letter or some trinket is unclear – with a letter which Pepys sent to Jackson a few months prior to Jackson’s return to England. This is the last point at which Paris was

³⁰⁶ Unless he was born in 1670 or later, he cannot have been a refugee from the 1685 revocation of the Edict of Nantes and still have arrived in England by age fifteen. BL Add. MS 5246, 13r.

³⁰⁷ Paris records himself as being on the Continent “In The Jubily year” of 1700 and was specifically in Montpellier, France in 1701. Tanner, *Private Correspondence*. BL Add. MS 5246, 3r, 31v. Wilson, *Signs and Portents*, 91.

³⁰⁸ Tanner, *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1: 207, 254; vol. 2: 120.

³⁰⁹ Pepys’s letter was dated 8 February 1699/1700, so presumably Paris’s daughter was born around the New Year; as they had left for the Continent the previous October, Paris’s wife would have been entering her third trimester at the time. Tanner, *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1: 289.

mentioned in Jackson's letters, and it is plausible that Jackson finally sent him home, an action Jackson had been considering for at least a few months, as Paris seems not to have spoken Spanish, making him "an uselesse servant" and "a burthen to me [Jackson] in my Spanish travels".³¹⁰

Paris appears to have been an inveterate collector and included "divers odd things" picked up on the Continent with at least two trunk-loads of books and other collectables which Jackson sent home to England.³¹¹ By age seventy Paris had amassed "aboue a thousand volumes of Books ... with a Considerable colection of prints, medals, and other Curiosities", a catalogue of which he had been attempting to compile but that was "yet Imparfect and not finished".³¹² Unfortunately, by this time he was also "sickly and not able To serue any longer" under the master for whom he had worked for nearly four decades.³¹³ Needless to say, Paris was quite bitter about the situation:

I James Paris du Plessis liued 37. years with a mastar, who after 30 years seruisse, wold abate of my [*sic*] very litle wages, and hauing serued him 7. years more, was forced to quit him being not able by age & Infirmities, with his consent, with a Good Coracter but not á farthing of Récompence. or other fauour but á Good Coracter as I had wel déserved from him. hauing spent 37. years of my Time and Grown agéd and very decrepit and helpless. a Turc woud haue had more charity for such an old servant.³¹⁴

This penury led to Paris's attempt to liquidate his worldly goods, an undertaking which was "not pleasing [to] God" and cost Paris more money than he made. Thus he

³¹⁰ Moreover, Spain seems to have been quite expensive – "at least a 3rd dearer than either in Italy or France" – and Jackson was trying to travel in a thrifty manner. Tanner, *Private Correspondence*, vol. 1: 297, 303; vol. 2: 97, 127, 179.

³¹¹ Tanner, *Private Correspondence*, vol. 2: 19, 130.

³¹² Paris's book catalogue, if he ever finished it, does not appear to have survived in Sloane's collection. It is unclear whether Sloane purchased any of Paris's printed books or curiosities, or whether Paris's library stayed largely intact, though this seems unlikely. BL Add. MS 5246, 3r.

³¹³ BL Add. MS 5246, 3r.

³¹⁴ BL Sloane MS 3253, 49v-50r.

lodged “my self and goods” in a garret room above a hatter’s and milliner’s shop in Little Newport Street, “against Riders Conduit”, a few hundred yards from Seven Dials and Covent Garden. It was in this state that Paris wrote to the physician and collector Hans Sloane, whom Paris had almost certainly met through his master Samuel Pepys, in an attempt to sell the two-volume *Short History* for “The most That you shal Thinck Them worth. If you do not like Them. To bestow somme. of your charity upon me”.³¹⁵ It is unclear how much money Sloane may have granted Paris, but Sloane certainly kept the *Short History* and a handful of other papers, as these manuscripts have survived as part of the British Library’s Sloane Collection.³¹⁶

Paris dated *A Short History* to 1733 in a front note, but he must have been compiling its contents for several decades, as he claimed to have made the “Collection ... wilst I was a seruant to ... Mr Samuel Pepys”.³¹⁷ The manuscript itself is split between two volumes: BL Additional Manuscript 5246, which contains the title page for *A Short History of Human Prodigious & Monstrous Births of Dwarfs, Sleepers, Giants, Strong Men, Hermaphrodites, Numerous Births, and Extreame Old Age &c.* (Figure 85), and BL Sloane Manuscript 3253, a general continuation of the first volume. In addition to having been designated “I. volume or first part” on the title page, Additional 5246 can also be identified as the volume which Paris considered more important, as it contains 38 hand-

³¹⁵ BL Add. MS 5246, 1r, 3r.

³¹⁶ These books and papers are catalogued as BL Add. MS 5246, BL Sloane MS 3253, BL Add. MS 5259 f. 227 (now held by the British Museum), BL Add. MS 5310 ff. 112-4, BL Add. 8968.

³¹⁷ BL Add. MS 5246, 3r.

drawn and -colored plates of 37 different unusual humans.³¹⁸ Sloane 3253 only contains one such plate, featuring a dwarf, on the first page of the manuscript. Two different hands are clearly recognizable throughout both volumes: one is Paris's own handwriting, positively identifiable from the letter he wrote to Sloane begging for charity, and the other is presumably a paid copyist. Examples of the two hands can clearly be seen on the first page of Sloane 3253, with the scribe's careful script identifying the image and Paris's scrawl filling in every spare inch of the page (Figure 86). While Paris's hand can be seen throughout the margins of Additional 5246 and Sloane 3253, the main text of Additional 5246 and the first third of Sloane 3253 were penned by the copyist. However on folio 16r of Sloane 3253, Paris's hand takes over, and his is the only script to the end of the volume. In addition to the scribe, Paris also appears to have contracted with two separate artists in these volumes. The first artist painted all but two of the illustrations (characterized by Figure 84), while the second was responsible for the last picture of Additional 5246 and the only picture contained in Sloane 3253 (in the style of Figure 86). That Paris himself was not the artist is attested to in his description of a lobster-like child to which Paris's wife's sister gave birth (Figure 87), in which he stated twice that "I James Paris her Son [*sic*: brother] in Law had this Picture Drawn" and "I had this Figure Painted".³¹⁹

³¹⁸ The conjoined twins Helen and Judith of Hungary are the only monstrous birth in *A Short History* to merit two separate painted illustrations, from the front and the back (Figure 76); Paris is likely to have had them depicted thus as nearly every printed picture of the twins also featured front and back views.

³¹⁹ This text is in the copyist's hand, which likely explains the mistaken substitution of "son" for "brother". BL Add. MS 5246, 13v.

Paris clearly cared deeply enough for these volumes to hire three different individuals (a copyist and two artists) to beautify them. Why, then, did Paris's careful compilation practices suddenly stop in Sloane 3253? The dates at the beginning of each volume may provide a clue. Additional 5246 begins with two dates: 1730 and 1733 (Figure 88). Keeping in mind that Paris must have been compiling his accounts of monsters for several decades, presumably in a rough notebook of some sort which has not survived, he may have begun the fair copy of Additional 5246 in 1730, moved into Sloane 3253 in 1732, and finished adding notes in the margins of Additional 5246 in 1733. While Paris's actual birth date is unknown, if he was an adolescent around 1680, he may have been born close to 1670; this would put him in his sixties by 1733. As Paris sold these volumes to Sloane around age seventy, his financial problems had probably begun about a decade earlier, around the time that he was compiling these manuscripts and presumably also close to the time when he left the service of his unnamed master of 37 years.³²⁰ Financial insolvency could explain both the change in artists, assuming that the second artist's rates could have been lower than the first, and the lack of illustrations past the first third of Additional 5246. Further financial problems would similarly explain the copyist's disappearance a third of the way into Sloane 3253. Presumably, Paris's finances would only have worsened over time, leading to his attempt to liquidate his collected goods: "I took a Little Shop, and exposed my said Goods To Sale, but it not pleasing God not [*sic*] to bless my vndertaking, and spending In it all The money I had, I

³²⁰ If Paris had left Pepys's service around 1701 and immediately took up with his final master, this would place Paris's financial troubles somewhere in the late 1730s. Paris described himself as "being aged of 70. years" in his undated letter to Sloane. BL Add. MS 5246, 3r.

have been abridged to Leau[e] of shop keeping". The failure of this retail venture was thus the proximate cause for Paris's plea that Sloane "bestow somme. of your charity upon me"; of necessity, this plea must have been penned sometime between June 1737, the last date of Sloane 3253, and 1741, when Sloane retired as President of the Royal Society.³²¹ And given Paris's almost compulsive tendency to record every instance of monsters and prodigies that he could find, it seems likely that he sold Sloane the manuscripts closer to the former date than the latter.³²²

The contents of the volumes are quite well described by Paris's full title, *A Short History of Human Prodigious & Monstrous Births of Dwarfs, Sleepers, Giants, Strong Men, Hermaphrodites, Numerous Births, and Extreame Old Age &c.* Within Additional 5246, the first example of each topic appears in the order in which the title suggests, with the exception of the catch-all "&c." category, as a wild man "Taken Naked in the Black forest in Germany" appears before the first giant. However, as this "Wild Mounstrous Hairy Man" was also "Six foot and Nine Inches High", Paris might have intended him to be an example of a giant. In this case, the first member of "&c." would be the French fire eater De Hightreight, who preceded the first example of "Extream Old Age" by several pages.³²³ While the title thus roughly reflects the order of the volume, Paris seems to have followed no other organizational scheme, suggesting that the monsters were listed in the order in which Paris saw, heard of, or read about them, in the manner of a

³²¹ Paris addressed the letter "To The Honorable S^r Hans Sloane M.D. P.R.S. &c.", implying that Sloane was still President at that time. BL Add. MS 5246, 3r-v. BL Sloane MS 3253, 53r. Arthur MacGregor, "Sir Hans Sloane, baronet (1660–1753)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004-), accessed 1 December 2012, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25730>.

³²² If Paris were exactly 70 years old in 1737, this would place his birth date in 1667.

³²³ BL Add. MS 5246, 29r, 46r.

commonplace book. The two volumes contain a total of 397 separate entries which can be categorized according to Paris's own classification scheme: 65 entries concerning prodigious or monstrous births, eight cases of dwarfism, four sleepers, seventeen giants, eight strong men, seven hermaphrodites or cases of spontaneous sex change, 33 instances of multiple births (generally over three children in a single pregnancy), 136 entries on extreme old age (some of them entire races or regions of long-lived people), and 119 items of *et cetera* (covering everything from flocks of birds fighting in the sky to unusual vegetables). As the first six categories each describe physical conditions described broadly as monstrous, this means that 109 or 27% of the entries in Paris's manuscripts were concerned with anatomical abnormalities. However, as all but two of the 38 illustrations featured monstrous individuals (the remaining pair featured a set of quadruplets and a fire-eater) and the first category mentioned in the title is "Human Prodigious & Monstrous Births", this is probably the group Paris found the most interesting.

Like Pepys and Evelyn, Paris attended a number of London monster shows. In December 1698, he saw a twenty-year-old German man with a parasitic twin growing out of his torso (Figure 89). The twin's face was "Perfectly well Shaped with Eyes nose mouth chin forehead and Ears ... but Could not Speak Eat nor Drink nor open its Eyes ... and Showed no Sign of Life". As with many other people on the show circuit, the man "Spoke and Rit Several Languages as Latin, French. Italian High Dutch, and Pretty good English".³²⁴ Paris saw – and pictured, though the image is rather mundane (Figure 90) –

³²⁴ BL Add. MS 5246, 20r-v.

the sleeper (one who “fell á sleep and so Continued Sleeping, and Could not be Wakened with Pricking, Cramping, or other ruse Burning Whatsoever”) Nicholas Hart, “in his Sleep the 10. of August 1713 he Could not be Waked”. Apparently Hart’s own mother had also been a sleeper, as at the time of his birth on 5 August 1684, she “had Been 48 hours á Sleep when she was Deliverd of him, yet it did not Disturb her, for she Continued in her Sleep 48 Hours after he was Born”. Moreover, the baby Hart himself “was Thought to be Born ded, Being fast á Sleep, and so Remaind till after his Mother Awaked”.³²⁵

When Paris saw an “Irishman born near Dublin who was 7 foot and a 11 Inches High without his Shoes or any thing upon his Head”, the giant had an additional trick to pull in an audience: “for a Wager” he measured his shoes – 1’3” long and 10” wide – and proceeded to fill them with over two quarts of water. While not as physically taxing as the Saxon giant who could hold “á Ten pount Weight att Arms Lenth for 12 Minuts”, Paris’s extended description of the Irish giant’s shoes suggests that this ploy was the more successful.³²⁶ Lifting heavy weights was not just the purview of strapping young giants; professional strong men also toured around Europe. A man billed as “A Second Samsom [*sic*]” born in “the Dukedom of Wirtemberg in the Year 1690”, the only strong man whom Paris saw for himself, was on show in London in 1720 (Figure 91).³²⁷ Among the feats described by Paris,

³²⁵ BL Add. MS 5246, 22r-23r.

³²⁶ BL Add. MS 5246, 30v.

³²⁷ This is not the same strongman as William Joyce, the “English Sampson”, advertised in 1699. BL Add. MS 5246, 32r-33r. BL N.Tab.2026/25, tract 29.

he would draw two of the Strongest Liveliest Young Coach-Horses that Could be Procured from the Noblemans and Gentlemens Coaches, that came to see [sic] him, the two Horses were fastened to his Middle, he Sitting upon a Large Board, Resting his feet at full Length Against a Strong Beam that was Placed Parallell to his seat, in the Middle of their Course he would Cheek and pull them back and did not stir himself nor the two Horses with all their Strength and the Severe Wippings of the Coachman Could not move him.

He also lifted iron cannon and held them for several minutes, twisted iron with his bare hands, let smiths pound on an anvil which was placed on his chest, and could jump to above his own height.³²⁸

Paris also viewed a 22-year-old hermaphrodite from Yorkshire in 1702, who became the subject of the manuscript's fanciest illustration, which features a flap that (when down) acts as the hermaphrodite's skirt and (when up) shows the reader his/her genitals (Figure 92). Additionally, Paris pasted an etching of the Greek literary character Hermaphroditus, complete with detailed genitalia, onto the back of the page (Figure 93). Paris appears to have enjoyed, and therefore likely paid for, complete access to the hermaphrodite's body, as he described how "she Seemed to be a Perfect Partaker of both sexes its viril[e] Verge did Erect by Provocation I James Paris asked h [sic] it many Questions but Cumpany Cumming in Interrupted us but I found by Inspections that its viril[e] Member was Perfect as to all outward Appearance as to the Head Calotte Testicules Scrotum &c".³²⁹ Paris seems not to have known how to refer to this hermaphrodite, as he first uses the pronoun *she* and later switches to *it*, after beginning to write either *him* or *her* – the hanging "h" in the phrase "asked h it many Questions" – though the "h" could

³²⁸ BL Add. MS 5246, 32r-33r.

³²⁹ *Verge* is a rare term for penis. *Calotte* means cap, and Paris could here be using the term to refer to the prepuce or foreskin. BL Add. MS 5246, 34r-v.

also have been a correction on the copyist's part. Paris's description of the hermaphrodite's body focuses exclusively on how masculine the genitals appeared, which contradicts his original assertion that "she Seemed to be á Perfect Partaker of boath sexes". However, as Paris asserts that the Yorkshire hermaphrodite "Appeared to me to be very much like" the etchings of Hermaphroditus which he pasted into Additional 5246, the hermaphrodite probably had both a micro-penis or enlarged clitoris and a vaginal canal and possibly also some mixed secondary sex characteristics.³³⁰ This is in contrast to the illustration, which seems to feature a vagina, very noticeable testicles not contained within either a bifurcated scrotum or the *labia majora*, and an extremely thin penis without any of the features mentioned in the text. Neither the portrait nor the etching exactly matches Paris's extensive description of the hermaphrodite's genitalia, which begs the question of the accuracy of the illustrations in this volume. How did Paris's illustrators know what to paint?

Five of the illustrations in *A Short History* feature dwarfs, who were depicted rather simply as short people. Paris viewed the 2'7" tall "John Worrenbergh of Hartshousen in Switserland" (Figure 94) when the dwarf visited London in 1689, and apparently Paris kept track of the man afterwards, as the manuscript entry for Worrenbergh indicated that he "was Drowned in the Year 1695 at Rotterdam in Holland, by Accident, Being Carried in his Box Over á Plank from the Key on Bord of a Ship, the Plank Braking the Porter and he fell in the River Mease, and he Being in Closed in his Box was Drowned". The miniature "Turkey Horse" which accompanied the dwarf

³³⁰ BL Add. MS 5246, 34v.

known as “the Black Prince” (Figure 95), who Paris saw in 1712, was likewise “Kept in á Box” when not performing its “many Diverting and Surprizing Tricks att the word of Command”. Also on show with “This Little Black Man” was his wife, “the fairy Queen”, who “Could Dance, Extraordinary well. Though she was big with Child”. Paris appears not to have met either Anne Rouse, who had been “Borne near the City of Norwich, y.^e 24.th of June 1690” (Figure 96), or Hannah Warton, “born att Leeds in Yorkshire in 1685” (Figure 97), though he still included both dwarfs’ portraits in Additional 5246; more than any of the others, these images were probably stock depictions of “dwarfs”.³³¹ The final illustrated dwarf of *A Short History* is the sole illustration in Sloane 3253, the 3’8” tall – and “as Broad as Long from Hand to Hand Stretch’d” – John Grimes, who had been born at Newcastle upon Tyne sometime before 1679 (Figure 86). In addition to being dwarfed, Grimes could apparently fit into Paris’s “strong men” category, as Paris claims that when in his thirties, Grimes “could lift up from the Ground up [*sic*] on his 2 hands 2 full Grown man as once. but his drunckenness disabled him and weekned him att or after the age of 40 years”. Apparently Grimes made the most of his short stature late in life, as “He sold him self to a surgeon some years before his death for 6 pence á week, to be dissected after his death”; this would have equated to a stipend of £1 6s. per year. At his death in 1736, Grimes was indeed “Anatomised” and his skeleton put on display, which Paris subsequently saw. By the time that Paris saw “The Norfolk litle man” on “The Monday 25. of April 1737”, the entry for whom appears late in Sloane 3253 and in

³³¹ BL Add. MS 5246, 17r, 18r-19v, 39r.

Paris's own handwriting, Paris could presumably no longer afford either an illustrator or a copyist, and thus the dwarf was pictured.³³²

While most of the infants illustrated in James Paris du Plessis's manuscript tome on monsters follow the general rule of depicting monstrous children as older than their actual age, alive, and happy (see Chapter 1), he does include one example of a stillborn child in a print cut and pasted into the book (Figure 98). These "two Monstrous Children", which Paris saw for himself, were "Preserved in Spirits in the Cabinet of the Count Mascardo at Verona, in Italy", and the print came to Paris via his "Most Honoured friend Miximilian Mison, the Learned and Ingenious author of the *Voyages into Italy*", who had himself received the print from the Count in 1687.³³³ The compilation *The World Displayed* tells us that

The cabinet of Count *Mascardo*, which consists of a gallery and six chambers full of pictures, books, rings, animals, plants, metals, extraordinary productions of nature, and the most exquisite pieces of art, is so admirable, and the number of these curiosities so great, that even a catalogue of them would fill a volume. Among these are many instruments and utensils used in the *Pagan* sacrifices; several brass figures that were hung up in their temples, in remembrance of some signal deliverance, and some pieces of workmanship out of stone asbestos spun in thread like cotton.³³⁴

According to James Granger, the Count also collected natural rarities – including "Mushrooms petrified, only of a coralline matter, &c. coral-red, white, and black – and pseudo-natural creations, such as a "Rayfish made into a counterfeit basilisk, by raising

³³² BL Sloane MS 3253, 2r, 47r.

³³³ BL Sloane 5246, 49v.

³³⁴ [Samuel Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith, and Christopher Smart, compilers], *The World Displayed: or, a Curious Collection of Voyages and Travels, Selected from the Writers of all Nations ...* (3rd ed., London: 1778), vol. 18: 140.

the fins, and putting into its mouth a forked tongue, and giving it a pair of enameled eyes”.³³⁵ As he owned such a detailed engraving, Paris did not choose to have this monster illustrated.

However, that is exactly what he did with “The Effigie of á Monstrous Tartar, taken in Hungary February 1664”, a humanoid monster with a long bird’s neck, a horse’s head, and a man’s bearded face, one of the traditional monstrous races believed to live beyond the borders of the known world (Figure 99). He was ostensibly “taken Prisoner by Count Serini. á Creature of extraordinary Strength & Valour, who having spent all his Arrows in fight against y.^e Christians, was taken alive & so continues being kept carefully in those parts”.³³⁶ The notes on Paris’s manuscript page are a direct transcription of the text surrounding the etching of the “Tartar”, and so it is clear how this page, at least, came to be added into *A Short History*. However, it is not possible to determine whether he regularly handed the copyist and the illustrator copies of his printed sources, as he clearly did with the “Tartar”, or if he generally copied accounts into a rough commonplace book, which he then handed to the scribe to make the fair copy of Additional 5246. In some cases, Paris certainly just described monsters to the artist, as no other pictures were ever created of the two-headed infant from Paris’s childhood or the lobster-baby given birth to by his sister-in-law.

Though the Tartar provided the only example of one image copied directly from another, Paris included textual citations for many of his entries. For example, he cited the

³³⁵ James Granger, *Letters between the Rev. James Granger, M.A. Rector of Shiplake, and Many of the Most Eminent Literary Men of His Time ...* (London: 1805), 38-9.

³³⁶ BL Add. MS 5246, 6v-7r.

1633 edition of John Stow's *Survey of London* as his source for information about William Foxley, "Pot (or Crucible) maker for the mint of the Tower of London, [who] fell á Sleep" on 27 April 1546 "and so Continued Sleeping ... full 14 Dayes and 15 Nights or More". Paris copied his account of the case nearly verbatim from Stow, helpfully providing a full bibliographic citation in his manuscript, complete with page number.³³⁷ Whether or not Paris owned a copy of this book, he clearly had it in front of him while writing these pages. Similarly, Paris copied a relation of "One S. Chilton of Tinsbury near Bath who in the Years 1693, 1696, and 97, Slept Divers Weeks Togather" directly from William Derham's 1723 edition of *Physico-Theology: Or, a Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God* ... Derham got his account of the case out of an article published in the *Philosophical Transactions* number 304, which account has much more detail than that provided by either Derham or Paris, and both provided a citation to the article in their accounts of the case.³³⁸

Paris recorded that an anonymous "*They write from Oxford*" about "the Wife of a Groom" who gave birth to a normal girl "and an Hour after was Delivered of a [fe]Male Child which had two Heads Diametrically opposite one to the other 4 Armes and Hands but one Belly" in the year 1664.³³⁹ This is the monstrous birth described in the anonymous ballad, *Natures Wonder? Or, an Account how the Wife of One John Waterman an Ostler in the Parish of Fisherton-Anger, near Salisbury, was Delivered of a*

³³⁷ BL Add. MS 5246, 23r. John Stow and A. M., *The Survey of London*... (London: 1633), 55-6.

³³⁸ BL Add. MS 5246, 118v. William Oliver, "A Relation of an Extraordinary Sleepy Person, at Tinsbury, Near Bath. By Dr William Oliver, F. R. S.", *Philosophical Transactions* 24 (1704-1705), 2177-82. W[illiam] Derham, *Physico-Theology: Or, a Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God* ... (London: 1720), 212.

³³⁹ BL Add. MS 5246, 56r.

Strange Monster upon the 26th of October 1664 (see Chapter 4 above). The broadside includes a picture of the twins (Figure 69) which matches both the printed description and that cited by Paris.³⁴⁰ However, Paris clearly did not get his account of the birth from this ballad, as each account contains some details not included in the other. Whereas the ballad blamed confusion in the birthing room on the women who were present – “The Women they were all afraid / to see this fearfull sight. / All lycke the Midwife much dismay’d / when as it came to light” – Paris recorded that the father, John Waterman, was also there and got in on the discussion: “Their was a Dispute Amongst the father, Mother, and Company weather they were two Children or but one and it was Agread that they were two Children, they were both Baptized by the Names of Martha and Mary”.³⁴¹

Paris directly followed his description of the Waterman twins with that “of a Mounster very near Like This, Born in 1552 Near the City of Oxford”, which “our Phisitions, Surgeons, and And [*sic*] Annatomists have taken notice” was included in the 1554 Zurich edition of Jakob Rueff’s *De Conceptu et Generatione Hominis*, a book on the generation and birth of children which Jennifer Spinks asserts influenced the wonder book genre.³⁴² The fact that Paris attributed this account to some unnamed physicians, surgeons, and anatomists – perhaps the same individuals as “they” who wrote “from Oxford” about the Waterman girls – suggests that he may have received both the Waterman story and the Rueff reference from the same source. Certainly, when he cribbed an account of “a monstrous child who had 2 Heads, 4. Ears, 4. Eyes, 2 Arms, one

³⁴⁰ Anonymous, *Natures Wonder?*, single sheet.

³⁴¹ BL Add. MS 5246, 56r-v. Anonymous, *Natures Wonder?*, single sheet.

³⁴² BL Add. MS 5246, 57r. Spinks, *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture*, 86.

of the said Arms Came out of its Breast, 3 legs & feet the middle foot having 6. Toes; and The middle Toe the Longest” out of *The Daily Advertiser* for 6 July 1736 (number 1698), Paris provided a full citation to his source.³⁴³ This change in citation style indicates a larger change in Paris’s compilation patterns. The description of the Waterman twins appears near the middle of Additional 5246, in the scribe’s fair hand, while Paris himself recorded the 1736 birth in Sloane 3253; the record of the 1664 birth was thus a highly mediated piece of news – travelling at least from the original source to Paris’s rough notes to the scribe’s fair copy, recorded decades after the event – whereas Paris inscribed the 1736 twins’ story directly from the newspaper’s report.

Paris not only compiled printed accounts of monstrosity but also collected enough rarities to justify referring to them as his “Cabinet”. These curiosities included “two Balls of Hair, of a Redish Colour, the Biggest About an Inch and a Half Diameter, one Ruff with Long Hair and the other very Smooth and Hard, that were Taken out of the Stomack of two Different Calves”. He also owned a pair of “serpents stones”, which he described as “Stone Serpents and Snakes of a Blackish Colour all Without Heads fouldead [folded] Round and Seamindly [seemingly] very Natural”. One stone “Was Brought me from Whitbay Aforesaid [Whitby, Yorkshire] and the other from Ardeley in the County of Gloucester”.³⁴⁴ Apparently Paris’s friends knew of his predilection for the strange and were willing to indulge it. Also included in the collection were two eagle’s

³⁴³ BL Add. MS 3253, 49v.

³⁴⁴ Rather than being serpent-shaped, Nehemiah Grew asserted that these stones were grown within serpents’ or other animals’ heads and “if it be laid to a Wound, made by any Venimous Creature, it is said to stick to it, and so to draw away all the Venime”. BL Add. MS 5246, 87v, 95v-96r. Grew, *Musaeum Regalis Societatis*, 52.

feet that had apparently seen better days by the time Paris reached the end of Sloane 3253: “that ware [*sic*] when I had it Covered very thick covered [*sic*] all ouer the legs & feet with á sort of downy fine Feathers aboue an Inch Long very thick To the very claws. but the mosses have Eaten att the Longest. but the Shortest down Remans [*sic*] stil”.³⁴⁵ Of Paris’s “Considerable colection of prints, medals, and other Curiosities”, only identify a handful are identifiable.³⁴⁶

Not everyone in early modern England showed an interest in monsters. For example, neither Ralph Josselin nor Roger Morrice, two other prominent seventeenth-century diarists, recorded any references to monsters. As Josselin’s diary consisted of 300,000 words and Morrice’s of nearly a million, this verbosity makes it all the more remarkable that not one entry concerned monstrosity, perhaps especially since both men were puritan clerics, and the belief that God showed his will in wonders should have made monsters resonate particularly strongly with such godly men (see Chapter 1).³⁴⁷ On the other hand, perhaps Pepys, Evelyn, and Paris simply enjoyed greater access to monstrosity, living as they did in London, a prime location for monster shows: however, the diarist Roger Morrice, who also lived in the capital, did not write about monsters. Samuel Pepys often talked with, measured, and otherwise interacted with the abnormal individuals he met at such shows and included in his diary his feelings about the experience. John Evelyn catalogued the distinct physical appearances of the monsters he

³⁴⁵ BL Sloane MS 3253, 52v.

³⁴⁶ BL Add. MS 5246, 3r.

³⁴⁷ Ralph Josselin, *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616-1683*, edited by Alan MacFarlane (Records of Social and Economic History, New Series 3. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1976; paperback 1991). Roger Morrice, *The Entring Book of Roger Morrice, 1677-1691*, general editor Mark Goldie, 7 vols. (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2009).

came into contact with, in a natural philosophical style similar to that of letters published by the *Philosophical Transactions*. James Paris du Plessis combined these two approaches, providing both extensive descriptions of unusual physiognomies and subjective reactions to the individuals that “I James Paris saw”; moreover, Paris obsessively chronicled every unusual occurrence that he could find in books, newsletters, even some *Philosophical Transactions* articles.³⁴⁸ For these men, the impetus to experience monstrosity appears to have straddled the line between prurience (perhaps most visible in Paris’s interaction with the Yorkshire hermaphrodite) and popular science (such as in Evelyn’s careful description of Barbara Urslerin), with a common denominator of pure curiosity about physical difference, a fascination which seems to have run through all of the various media spread knowledge about monstrous births throughout the early modern period.

³⁴⁸ BL Add. MS 5246, 8v.



Figure 82 - The Hairy Woman Barbara Urslerin

Barbara Urslerin, the hairy maid, pictured next to an harpsichord in a 1656 etching. Richard Gaywood, *Barbara Urslerin* ([London?]: 1656), Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, P.7218-R.

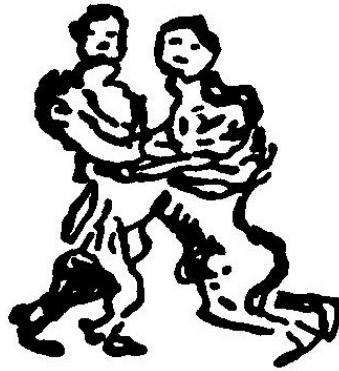


Figure 83 - Evelyn's Sketch of Conjoined Twins

John Evelyn sketched this pair of conjoined twins into his diary to accompany his description of their preserved bodies. In an interesting coincidence, the bodies of Aquila and Priscilla Herring (see Chapter 3), whose point of conjoinment was nearly identical to this pair of twins, were likewise on display in Southwark exactly twenty years later, 9-22 September 1680. Evelyn, *The Diary*, vol. 3: 255. TNA C 22/641/26, 4r.



Figure 84 - The Two-Headed Infant from Paris's Childhood

The one that started it all: the two-headed infant that Paris dug up as a child. This image was certainly composed solely from Paris's description. The indoor setting of this illustration identifies it as having been painted by the first of Paris's artists. BL Add. MS 5246, 4r.

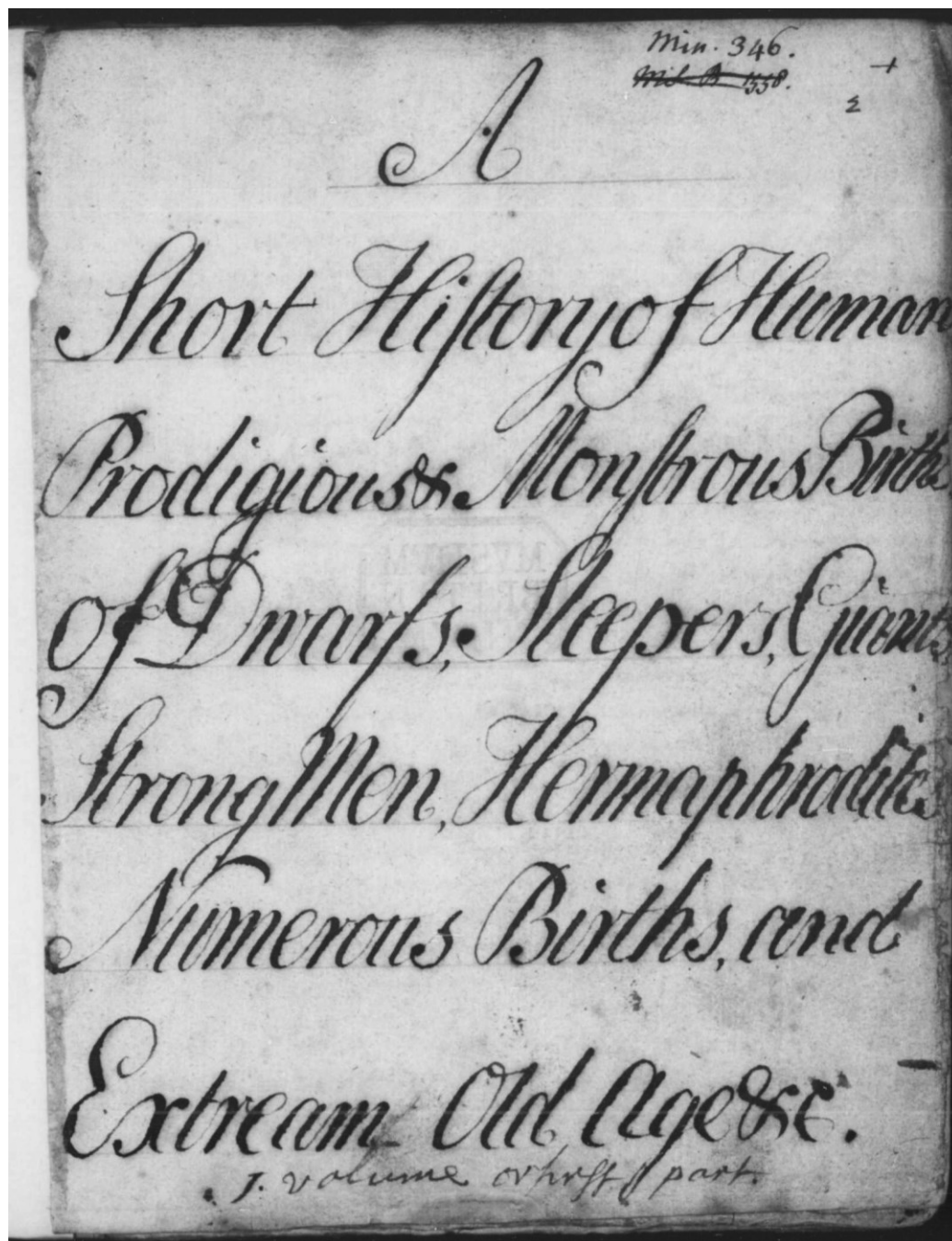


Figure 85 - A Short History of Human Prodigious & Monstrous Births

The title page to James Paris du Plessis's manuscript book of monsters. BL Add. MS 5246, 2r.

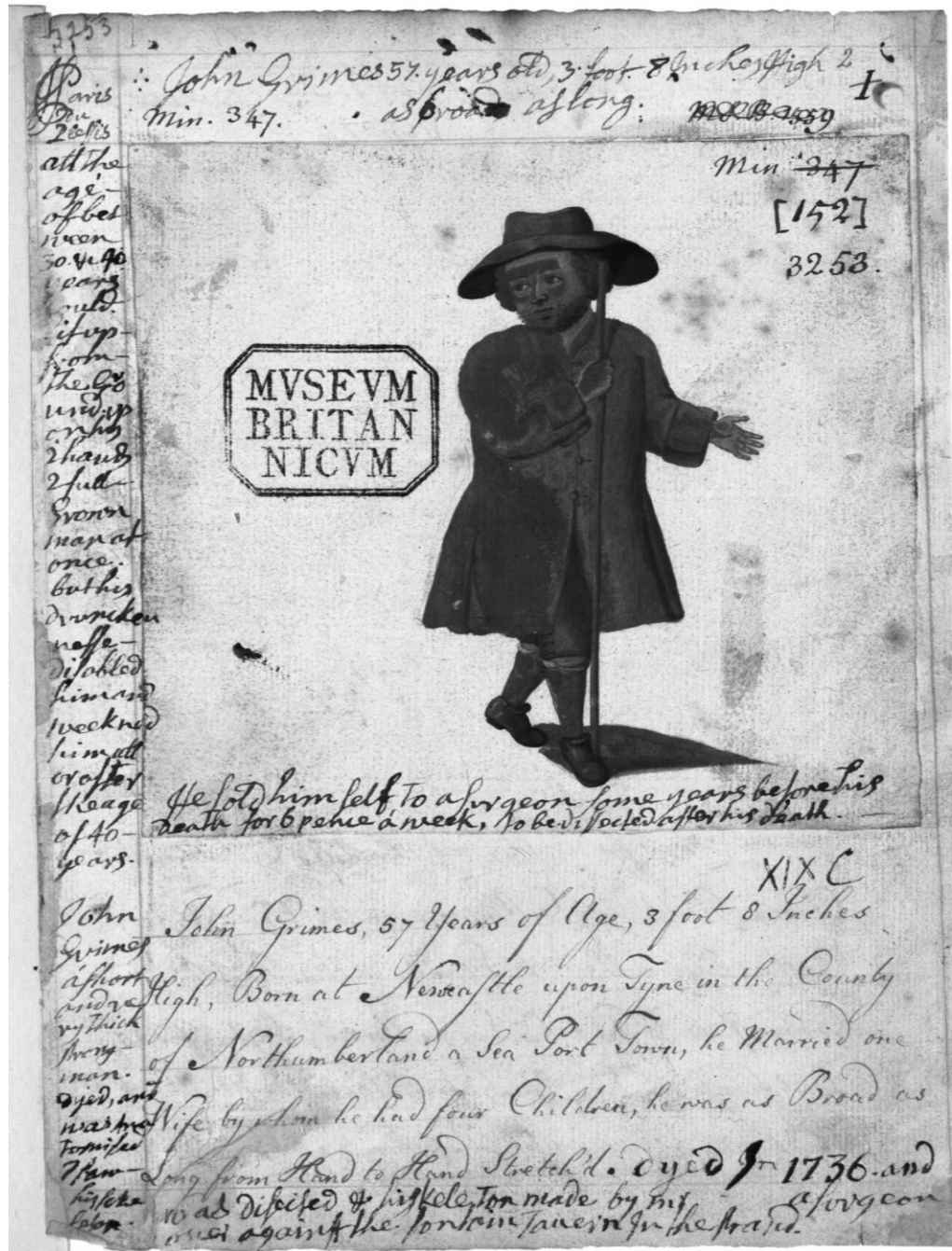


Figure 86 - The Dwarf John Grimes

Paris's scrawling handwriting versus the scribe's clear and careful script. The image was composed by Paris's second illustrator, who placed his subjects in space, with a shadow but without any background. BL Sloane MS 3253, 2r.

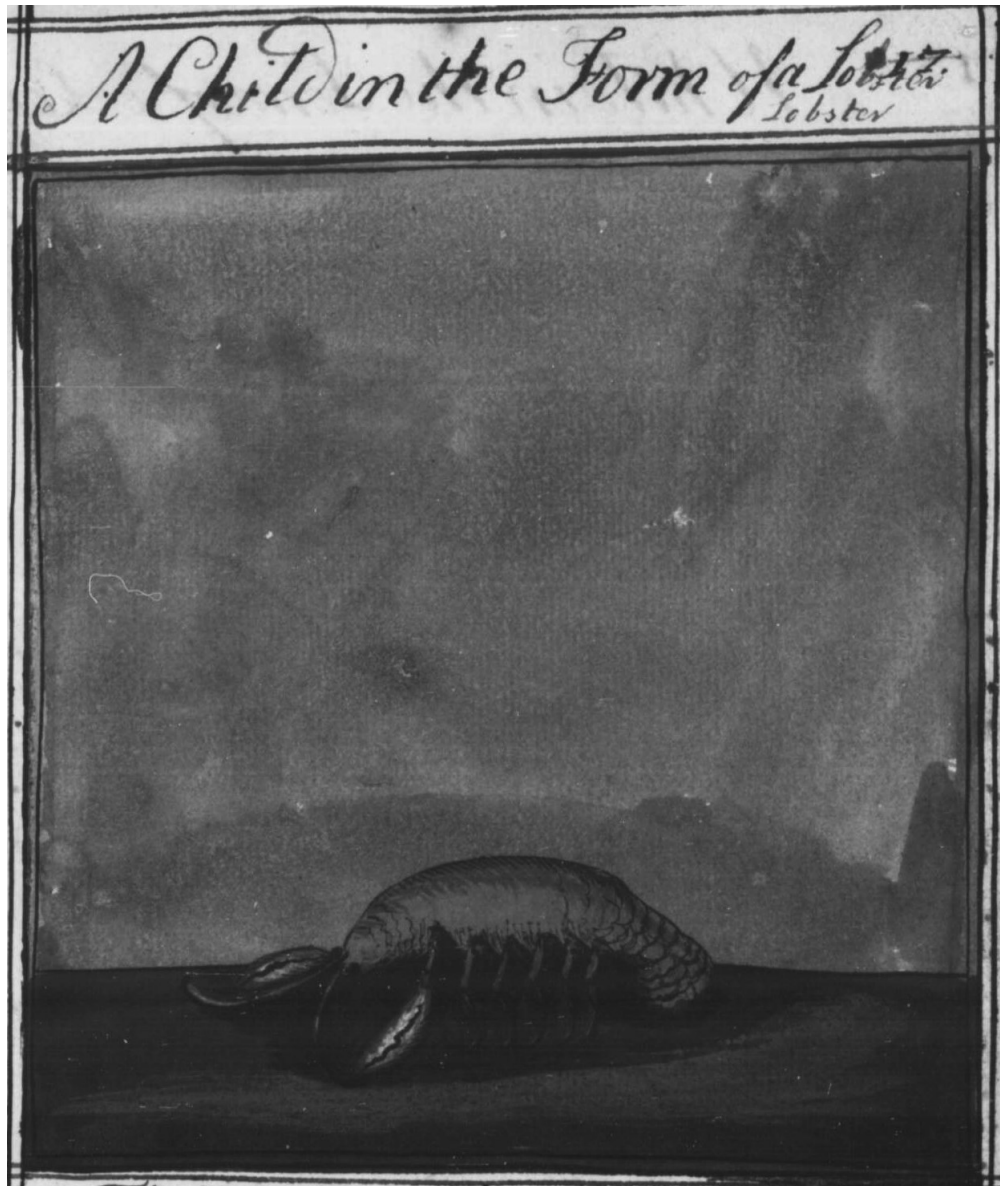


Figure 87 - A Child in the Form of a Lobster

The "Monster which was in all Respects like a Lobster Boyld and Red Excepting that instad of a Hard Shell or crust it was all a: Deep Red Flech with all its Claws and Jo[i]nts" given birth to by "James Paris his Wifes Sister". Paris claimed, "I Shawed it to her [his sister-in-law], and she Approved of it and said it was very much like it". BL Add. MS 5246, 13r-v.

Paris Du Plessis 1730 1-1-0
Collector of these Boock time 1733.

143. A continuation du Nombre 139. mesme prix tous
ensemble 25 guinees.
Paris Du Plessis. 1732.

Figure 88 - The Dates in Paris's Books

The dates from Additional 5246 and Sloane 3253, respectively. Paris may have begun Additional 5246 in 1730, moved onto Sloane 3253 in 1732, and finished the full collection in 1733. Neither volume retains its original binding, and so it is unclear whether the “£1-1s.-0” price refers to the cost of the original purchase cost for the pages or perhaps costs associated with either the copyist or the artists. BL Add. MS 5246, 1r. BL Sloane MS 3253, 1r.



Figure 89 - A Parasitic Twin

Paris's unnamed "Man with á Head Growing out of his Belly". BL Add. MS 5246, 20r.



Figure 90 - The Sleeper Nicholas Hart

The sleeper Nicholas Hart, asleep in his bed. BL Add. MS 5246, 22r.



Figure 91 - A Strongman

Though this image does not do him justice, Paris described this "Second Samson" as "The Strongest man that Ever I have Seen". BL Add. MS 5246, 32r.



Figure 92 - The Yorkshire Hermaphrodite

Paris's hermaphrodite with the skirt flap down (left) and up, pointing to his/her genitals (right). BL Add. MS 5246, 34r.



Figure 93 - Hermaphroditus

The etching of Hermaphroditus pasted into Paris's manuscript. This illustration was "Brought from Rome" and appears to have been added to the page before the surrounding text, as it interrupts Paris's description of the Yorkshire hermaphrodite, whose genitals "Appeared to me to be very much like this Figure". The caption reads, "Hermaphroditus, from an ancient marble", which Paris mis-translated as "and Antiant *Marvel*". I have not been able to identify the origin of the etching. BL Add. MS 5246, 34v, emphasis mine.



Figure 94 - The Dwarf John Worrenbergh

The dwarf John Worrenbergh, in James Paris du Plessis's manuscript book of monsters. Note the care put into the details of Worrenbergh's clothes. BL Add. MS 5246, 18r.



Figure 95 - The Black Prince

The portrait of “The Least Man, Woman and Horse that Ever was seen Togather á Live”. The male dwarf was known as “the Black Prince” and his dwarfed wife, who was pregnant when Paris saw them, was called “the fairy Queen”; both were “Strait Well Shaped and Proportionable”. BL Add. MS 5246, 19r-v.



Figure 96 - The Dwarf Anne Rouse

The English dwarf Anne Rouse, who was 2'2" tall at age 27. This illustration, as with Figures 97, is a fairly nondescript depiction of a dwarf and as such may well not be depicting the woman herself. BL Add. MS 5246, 17r.



Figure 97 - The Dwarf Hannah Warton

Hannah Warton, who was 2'5" tall at age 20. Note that as with Figures 94, 95, and 96, the small stature of the woman is only identifiable in terms of how large the room appears around her (compare to Figure 89). BL Add. MS 5246, 39r.

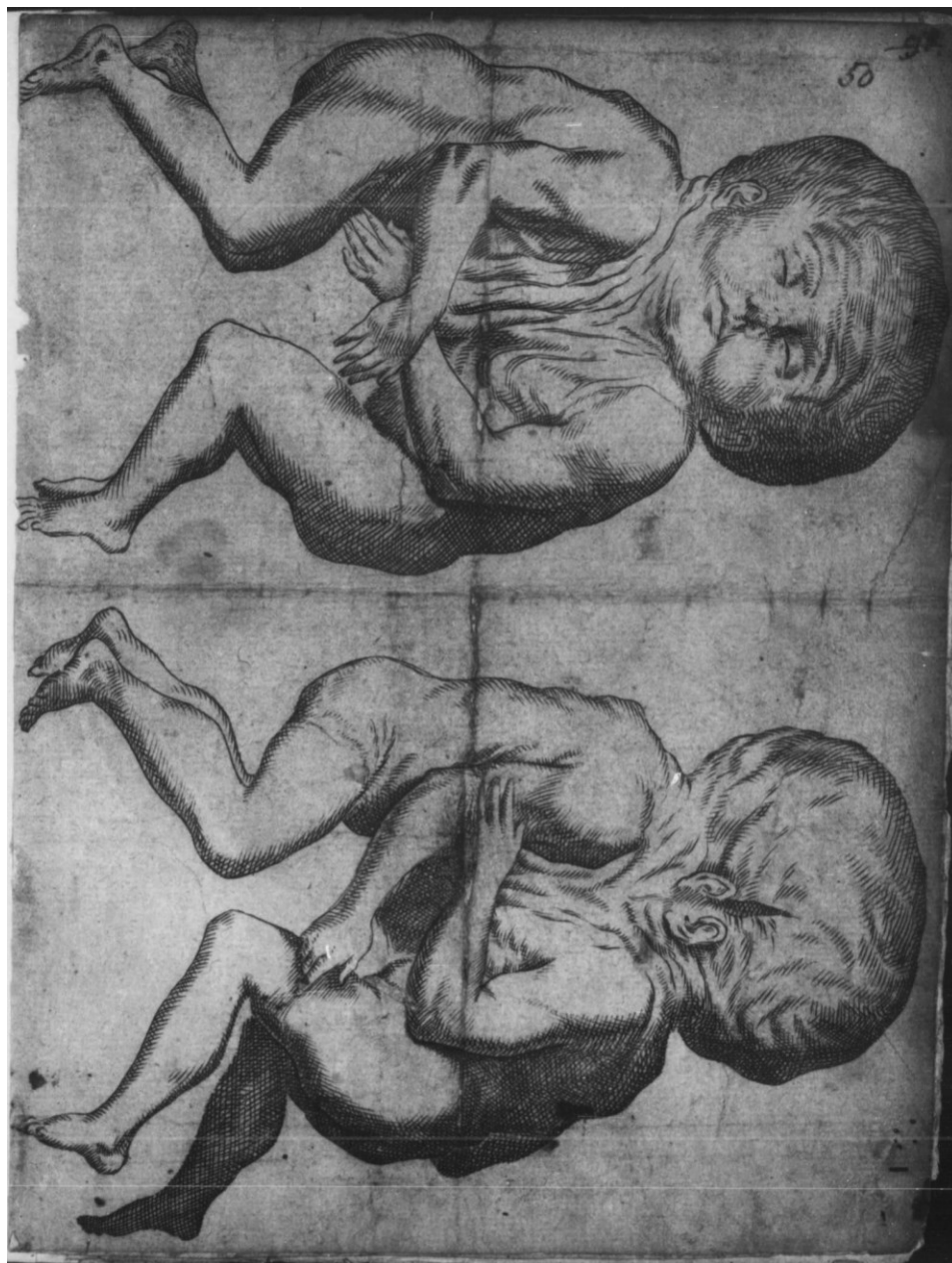


Figure 98 - Etching of Stillborn Conjoined Twins

An exception to the general rule that stillborn infants be portrayed alive, pasted into James Paris Paris's manuscript book. BL Add. MS 5246, 50r.

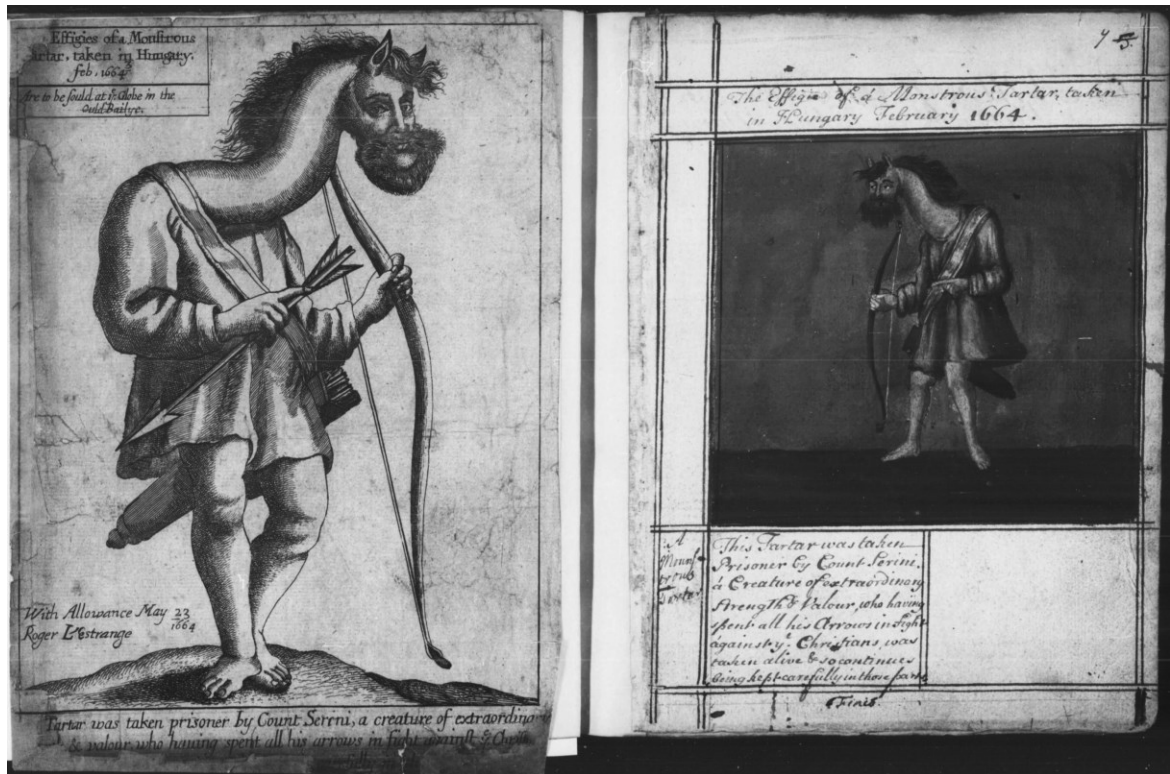


Figure 99 - The Monstrous Tartar

The clearly fictional “Tartar” archer, as both an etching and an illustration. While it is obvious where the artist got his inspiration for the image, it is less clear why James Paris du Plessis preserved the original broadside alongside the manuscript entry in this case, whereas he almost never did so elsewhere in the collection. BL Add. MS 5246, 6v-7r.

Conclusion

As a first step in this dissertation, I compiled an extensive corpus of texts describing unusual anatomies and physical disabilities, totaling more than 700 descriptions of monsters, prodigies, and unusual creatures found in cheap print, advertisements, etchings, and *Philosophical Transactions* articles published between 1531 and c. 1800. These descriptions, in turn, served to identify perhaps 500 individual monsters from across Western Europe – and even a few who hailed from Russia, India, Africa, and the Americas – noted in English language publications throughout the early modern period. This corpus has proved essential for a study of knowledge spread, as tracking down every extant reference to a given pair of conjoined twins or the pig-faced lady of Manchester Square permitted a comprehensive examination of the channels through which early modern audiences discussed, wrote about, and experienced monstrosity.

This corpus includes about 150 inexpensive English-language publications (ballads, broadsides, pamphlets, and cheaply-printed small format books) featuring abnormal births and unusual physiologies which, when broken down by the period covered, can be directly compared to the number of such sources cited by other scholars (Table 3).

<u>scholar(s)</u>	<u>study type</u>	<u>geography</u>	<u>dates</u>	<u>English publications cited</u>
Julie Crawford ³⁴⁹	book	England	1560s to 1660s	42
David Cressy ³⁵⁰	2 chapters	England	mid-16th to mid-17th centuries	27
Dirks-Schuster database	dissertation	England	1560 to 1670	61
A.W. Bates ³⁵¹	book	Europe	1500 to 1700	44
Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston ³⁵²	2 chapters	England and France	16th and 17th centuries	14
Dirks-Schuster database	dissertation	England	1531 to 1700	88

Table 3 - Number of English-Language Cheap Publications Cited by Scholars

The mid-sixteenth to mid-seventeenth century, covered by Julie Crawford and David Cressy, roughly corresponds to the first century of Reformation struggles in England, an ideal span for the religio-political studies that these two historians were pursuing. Crawford's book focuses on how publications about monsters and marvels served the Protestant proselytizing agenda; thus, she concentrated most specifically on locating

³⁴⁹ Julie Crawford, *Marvelous Protestantism: Monstrous Births in Post-Reformation England* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

³⁵⁰ "Monstrous Births and Credible Reports: Portents, Texts, and Testimonies" in David Cressy, *Agnes Bowker's Cat: Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 29-50, 291-6. David Cressy, "Lamentable, Strange, and Wonderful: Headless Monsters in the English Revolution," in *Monstrous Bodies/Political Monstrosities in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Laura Lunger Knoppers and Joan B. Landes (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2004) 40-63, 256-61.

³⁵¹ A[lan] W. Bates, *Emblematic Monsters: Unnatural Conceptions and Deformed Births in Early Modern Europe* (The Wellcome Series in the History of Medicine, Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2005).

³⁵² Katharine Park and Lorraine J. Daston, "Unnatural Conceptions: The Study of Monsters in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France and England", *Past and Present* 92 (August 1981), 20-54. "Monsters: A Case Study" in Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 173-214, 408-17.

those monstrous broadsides, ballads, and pamphlets which contained a distinct religious message. David Cressy's two studies examined both English cultural responses to monstrous births and the specific narratives surrounding two headless monsters born in the midst of the discord surrounding the Civil Wars and Commonwealth (after King Charles I had lost his own head); Cressy therefore utilized publications about monsters as a lens through which to examine larger cultural and political themes. Printed chronicles, which tended to identify numerous monstrous births within a centuries-long time span alongside accounts of battles and monarchies, though usually without significant detail, would be of little use in either of these studies.

A.W. Bates and the collaborators Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston examined Western European sources within the period from 1500 to 1700, but their approaches differed significantly. Bates concentrated on how monsters' bodies could be read as emblems which would convey religious or moral arguments to the reader, implying a concentration on the sorts of religious print examined by Crawford. However, Bates also compiled a chronological list with retrospective diagnoses for every human monstrous birth that he could find in European print born between 1500 and 1700, totaling 251 monsters, a significantly lower number than the approximately 400 individual monsters mentioned within English cheap print alone. Bates's count of early modern monsters is therefore demonstrably low, almost certainly because he was relying upon a manual perusal of the *English Short Title Catalogue* to identify his sources, whereas an electronic keyword search of *Early English Books Online*, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, and other digital archives (discussed below) searches full titles, a method which is more

likely to locate every source. Park and Daston utilized fewer English print sources than any of the other authors examined for this count in their studies of monsters as prodigies of God or either wonders or mistakes of Nature. Cheap print in various vernaculars certainly comprises part of Park and Daston's bibliography, but their largely intellectual historical approach seems to have weighted their source material more heavily toward tomes describing the concept of monstrosity than pamphlets featuring individual monsters.

One last count of monstrous cheap print, this time in a multi-lingual context, permits a comparison of the publication habits of England and Germany (Table 4).

<u>scholar</u>	<u>study type</u>	<u>geography</u>	<u>dates</u>	<u>vernacular publications cited</u>
Jennifer Spinks ³⁵³	book	Germany	16th century	~37
Dirks-Schuster database	dissertation	England	1531-1600	25

Table 4 - Number of Vernacular Cheap Publications Cited by Scholars

Jennifer Spinks's study of religion and print culture in Germany examines how visual representations of monstrous births, most of which appeared in German-language broadsides and pamphlets printed in and around the Holy Roman Empire, developed over

³⁵³ Jennifer Spinks, *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2009).

the course of the sixteenth century and particularly during the German Reformation. Spinks's earliest source was printed in 1493, nearly four decades before the first English monstrous broadside; this gap becomes wider if the earliest English publication – the anonymous *This Horrible Monster is Cast of a Sowe*, which was first published in Nuremberg and imported to England for a second imprint – is discounted. In this case, the earliest extant piece of English cheap print about monstrous births is *Thou Shalte Understande (Chrysten Reader)*, John Day's 1552 broadside ballad about the Middleton Stoney conjoined twins. England can then be considered to have produced 24 cheap publications about monsters in the second half of the sixteenth century, compared with the 37 German works listed by Spinks for the entire century, which suggests that "printed reports of [monsters'] appearance" were not in fact "especially numerous in German lands", as Spinks asserts, particularly given population discrepancies: around 4 million inhabitants in England at the turn of the seventeenth century versus 17 million in the German-speaking lands.³⁵⁴ With this population ratio, one would expect to see four times as many publications in German, rather than less than half that number. Spinks's dearth of monstrous sources may be attributable to her focus on visual culture: she may have privileged sources with woodcut illustrations, though since she does not provide the full title of the individual items she examines, it is impossible to be sure without a close examination of each of them. It seems likely, however, that Spinks was not attempting to compile a comprehensive corpus of texts on German monsters. Her approach is narrative, rather than quantitative: thus, her chapters provide in-depth analyses of topics

³⁵⁴ Spinks, *Monstrous Births and Visual Culture*, 3.

such as Martin Luther's monk-calf and Phillip Melanchthon's popish ass, or wonder books by Jakob Rueff, Konrad Lycosthenes, and Job Fincel.

Scholars have studied monsters in early modern England, Germany, and France, but no such study exists for Ireland or Scotland. A search of *Early English Books Online*, *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, and the *English Short Title Catalogue* (see below for a discussion of such databases), revealed only seven cheap publications concerning monsters printed in either of these countries, two from Dublin, four from Edinburgh, and one from Glasgow, all of them from the eighteenth century.³⁵⁵ Though English imprints far outnumber those from Ireland or Scotland – the *ESTC* cites 356,809 records for works printed in England, 28,040 for Ireland, and 38,488 for Scotland (the vast majority of each being printed in London, Dublin, and Edinburgh, respectively) – these ratios of approximately 10:1 are not large enough to explain the 30:1 difference in cheap print about monsters. Nor is this a matter of printing in other languages, as the *ESTC* identifies only 241 records for publications in Irish, Gaelic, and Scots combined. London seems to have monopolized British monstrous birth publications.

Identifying and locating primary sources has become significantly easier over the last few years as a result of the proliferation of digital archives, both subscription-based and open access, which reproduce large numbers of early modern English sources. The

³⁵⁵ Anonymous, *Come and See, Come and See. Or an Account of a Cruel Monster ...* ([Dublin?]: 1714). Anonymous, *A Chronology of Some Memorable Accidents, from the Creation of the World, to the Year, 1754* (Dublin: 1754). Anonymous, *The Monstrous-Giant: Being an Account of a Most Strange and Wonderfull Wild-Man ...* (Original imprint unknown. Reprinted Edinburgh: 1701). Anonymous, *A Wonderfull Relation of a Hellish Monster Brought Forth by Mary Boss ...* (Edinburgh: 1709). R. Edwin, *A Full and Particular Account of a Most Strange and Wonderful Monster of a Serpent ...* ([Edinburgh?]: 1768). Anonymous, *An Account of a Most Surprising Savage Girl ...* (Edinburgh: [1800?]). Anonymous, *Account of a Most Surprising Savage Girl...* ([Glasgow]: 1798).

most comprehensive of these collections are *Early English Books Online*, a commercial venture by Chadwyck-Healey which seeks to digitize every work printed in English and England to the year 1700, and *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, a likewise commercial database run by Gale and Cengage covering all eighteenth-century British titles, as well as a number written in other languages and printed in other countries. Together, these archives contain more than 300,000 titles, including the vast majority of the items listed in the *English Short Title Catalogue* – with small libraries’ holdings which had never been microfilmed being actively filled in – and cover the entire early modern period in England and beyond. In addition to being comprehensive, these collections are title-, author-, and keyword-searchable, and every facsimile text is available for full download; many individual items can be searched online. Digital archives are revolutionizing the historical research process, and they certainly facilitated the compilation of my dissertation corpus.

Since not all sources are yet available online, traditional archival study, particularly for manuscripts, is still essential. While *State Papers Online* has made the Calendars of State Papers from 1509 to 1714 fully searchable, and Gale and Cengage are continuing to expand the years covered by this database, some of The National Archives’ holdings are better indexed than others and certain documents – including a number of equity suits pursued in Chancery post-1558 – are either not searchable online or require “indexes” or “alphabets” available at The National Archives only, making their digital

catalogues helpful but not necessarily comprehensive.³⁵⁶ Many local archives are struggling to expand their existing indexing structures to make keyword searches more fruitful for researchers and even to digitize their catalogues in the first place, meaning that in-person research remains essential not only for access to the documents themselves but also to verify the archives' full holdings. And histories of the book and material culture by their very nature will always necessitate a physical study of the source material within the rare books room of any archive. For example, reconstructing the series of monstrous birth tracts which are bound together and held by the Folger Shakespeare Library (see Chapter 1 above) would have been unnecessary if they had been viewed in the archive; they only appeared to be separate documents when viewed through *EEBO*. Thus, while primary sources are becoming increasingly digitally accessible, as evidenced by the large jump between the number of cheap print sources about monsters available to me and those which could be located by scholars only a few years ago, traditional historical research methods are being enhanced rather than replaced by downloadable documents and keyword searches.

* * *

From two-headed babies to pig-faced women to whales and other “fish” that appeared on shore where they had no right to be, monsters were everywhere in early modern England. Though these cases appear quite disparate to the modern eye – consisting of a recognized congenital defect, an urban legend, and a marine mammal – they were all seen as members of the same monstrous category and appeared side-by-side in contemporary

³⁵⁶ The National Archives, “Research Guides: Chancery Equity Suits after 1558: Introduction,” accessed 12 August 2013, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/research-guides/chancery-equity-from-1558.htm>.

sources. Thus cheap print discussed pituitary giants alongside giant squid and mermaids; the hog-faced gentlewoman appeared in ballads, newspapers, etchings, and James Paris du Plessis's monsters manuscript; curious gawkers were willing to travel over twenty miles to pay for the privilege of viewing Priscilla and Aquila Herring; the *Philosophical Transactions* addressed both monstrous births and kidney stones; and Samuel Pepys had as much to say about a performing horse or a highwire artist as he did about the hairy woman Barbara Urslerin. The common thread was a desire to discuss individuals and events which ran contrary what contemporaries considered "natural".

The Introduction addressed how knowledge transfer differed from information spread. *Knowledge* is a specialized form of information gained through experience or education, as opposed to simply a set of facts. *Transfer* refers to the active process of transmitting and acting upon such knowledge. Cheap print tended to transmit knowledge in one direction, from producer to consumer, though pubs and coffee houses would make printed broadsides and newspapers available to their customers to read and discuss at their leisure, and James Paris du Plessis compiled a collection of monsters on par with any commonplace book focusing on theological or political passages. Anyone with sufficient funds or social standing, from the inhabitants of rural Somerset to attendees at Court, could personally experience the bodies of monsters and draw their own conclusions about the causes of such unusual anatomies or their significance within the larger world order. Sources as varied as John Stow's popular *A Summarie of the Chronicles of England*, John Evelyn's diary, and the scholarly *Philosophical*

Transactions recorded monsters because they constituted knowledge that was considered worth codifying and transmitting to future generations.

Interpretations of monsters' origins and role in the world changed throughout the early modern period. While Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park warn against a Whiggish narrative of progress from the superstitious middle ages to the rational Enlightenment, there is nevertheless a noticeable difference between sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cheap print, which privileged Divine explanations for monstrosity – the peccatogenic worldview – and the *Philosophical Transactions*, which almost exclusively blamed unusual anatomies on accidents of Nature. In an attempt to avoid this teleological pitfall, this dissertation has privileged media over chronology and focused less on the underlying causes of monstrous births or stranded whales than on the process through which such media disseminated their messages. However, within each medium certain trends stand out. Nearly every ballad, broadside, or pamphlet printed before the mid-seventeenth century, as well as about half of those printed between 1650 and 1800, blamed monsters on God's will. Tracts which advertised monster shows in London alternately stressed the wondrous nature of the individual on display or simply provided a description and location, thereby leaving interpretations of significance up to the audience. Soon after his daughters' birth, Richard Herring expressed his fear that God was punishing him by making his wife give birth to a monster, but his newfound lucre seems to have driven any fears of Godly judgment from his head. Samuel Pepys, John Evelyn, and James Paris du Plessis were more concerned with enjoying and describing the monsters they encountered than with pondering their role in the cosmos. And the

Baconian programme ensured that the *Philosophical Transactions* addressed monsters' role within the natural world, as malformed versions of recognizable species. Monsters can thus light up the paths of knowledge transfer through various media – just as in a myelogram – around early modern England.

For all the differences between London and the provinces, including access to both printed materials and monster shows, the reactions in Somerset to Priscilla and Aquila Herring had much in common with treatment of monstrous births in the capital. In both cases, crowds flocked to see the abnormality, paying comparable entry fees for the privilege, and the Herring twins appeared in print just as did hundreds of other monsters. Though their alleged kidnapping sets them apart from other monsters who were put on show, it was not uncommon for parents to sell their physically unusual offspring, either to be shown while alive, as was the case with Helen and Judith of Újszöny, or to be anatomized and/or preserved after death. Indeed, perhaps what is most singular about the Herring twins' birth is the extensive documentary record which they left behind.

While discussed in different ways and in various media throughout the early modern period, monstrous births were nonetheless ubiquitous, thanks to their biological nature. Thus, the presence or absence of monsters in the source material reflects not whether they existed in society but rather whether they were being *discussed* at any given point in time and in a particular medium: the stillborn two-headed baby from James Paris du Plessis's family home was hidden away from the public view and only resurfaced decades later when Paris began his manuscript collection. Thus, the 26 sets of English

conjoined twins born in the early modern period are a small percentage of the more than 150 who should have been born in that time. Ultimately, monsters served a number of purposes in early modern society. They were newsworthy events and evidence of God's will; they provided entertainment and acted as a source of gossip; they gave clues into the workings of Nature. 700 descriptions, some printed in hundreds of copies, each one probably read by dozens of people, indicate that, though monsters could not be all things to all people, the degree to which they featured as subjects of knowledge transfer proves that they were important to the tens of thousands of inhabitants of early modern England.

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Scarlet Complection of the Linnen will be a Testimoniall of this Wonderfull Truth to Many Succeeding Generations. As also the True Relation of a Miraculous and Prodigious Birth in Shoo-Lane, where One Mistris Browne a Cuttlers Wife was Delivered of a Monster without a Head or Feet, and In Stead of a Head had a Hollow out of which a Child did Proceed, which was Little but Lovely, Perfect in All but Very Spare and Leane. As also the Kings Sending to His Parliament for Hostage for the Security of His Person to Come unto London and to Sit with His Parliament for the Composing the Diffirences in the Kingdome. London: [1645].

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- . *A Relation of a Terrible Monster Taken by a Fisherman Neere Wollage, July the 15. 1642. and is Now to be Seen in Kings Street, Westminster. The Shape whereof is Like a Toad, and may be Called a Toad-Fish; but that which Makes It a Monster, is, that It hath Hands with Fingers Like a Man, and is Chested Like a Man. Being Neere Five Foot Long, and Three Foot Over, the Thickenesse of an Ordinary Man. The Following Discourse will Describe Him More Particularly. Whereunto is Added, a Relation of a Bloody Encounter betwixt the Lord Faulconbridge and Sir John Hotham, wherein the Duke of Richmond is Hurt, and the Lord Faulconbridge Taken Prisoner. With Some Other Misselanies of Memory Both by Sea and Land, with Some Forreigne Occurrences.* London: 1642.

- . *A Right Strange and Woonderful Example of the Handie VVorke of a Mightie God. To Moove Vs Wretched Sinners to Amendement of Our Wicked Lyues, by this Lamentable Spectacle for Al Men & Women to Behold, of the Birth of Three Children, Borne in the Parish of Paskewet, in th County of Monmouth, on Thursday, the Third of February Last. And are are [sic] at this Present to be Seene at London.* London: 1585.

- . *A Sea Monster, Was Taken on Sunday Last, by Some Fishermen, and Brought to London. It is of the Fish Kind in Substance, with a Mouth of a Most Enormous Size, Capable of Holding the Largest Man in England.* ... [London: 1789].

- . “A Second Letter Concerning the Same.” *Philosophical Transactions* 18 (1694): 264.

- . *The Several Depositions of Edward Costen, Richard Stedman, John Sweetapple, Mary Peytoe, Elizabeth Mason, and Mary Costen; Relating to the Affair of Mary Toft. Of Godalming in the County of Surrey, being Deliver'd of Several Rabbits: as They were Taken before the Right Honourable the Lord ... at Guildferd and Clandon in the Said County on the Third and Fourth Days of this Instand December 1726.* London: 1727.

- . *Signes and Wonders from Heaven. With a True Relation of a Monster Borne in Ratcliffe Highway, at the Signe of the Three Arrows, Mistris Bullock the Midwife Delivering Her thereof. Also Shewing how a Cat Kitned a Monster in Lombard Street in London. Likewise a New Discovery of Witches in Stepney Parish. And how 20. Witches More were Executed in Norfolke this Last Assise. Also how the Divell Came to Soffam to a Farmers House in the Habit of a Gentlewoman on Horse-Backe. With Divers Other Strange Remarkable Passages.* London: [1645].

- . *The Somersetshire Wonder: Being a True Relation of a Cow within 8 Mile of Bathe, who Brought Forth a Calf, with the Likeness of a Womans Head-Dress, being a Commode, near Half a Yard High, which Calf will be Shortly Brought to the*

Tower of London, There to be Exposed to All Curious Spectators. To the Tune of Let Cæsar Live Long. Licensed According to Order. [London: 1691?].

- . *The Southwark Wonder: or, the Whole Town in an Uproar. Being a Strange and Surprising Account of the Greatest Miracle that Ever Happened in the World, of One Edmund Mitchell, a Prisoner in Southwark Bridewell, who is Now Big with Child for Seducing Elisabeth Edwards, at the Town of Nutfield, in Surry, for His False Oaths and Promise. Also His Examination before Several Worthy Divines, Doctors, and Man Midwives, with the Answers that He Gave Them with Lamentable Sorrow and Bitter Tears.* [London: 1766].
- . *The Strange and Dreadful Relation of a Horrible Tempest of Thunder, Lightning, and of Strange Apparitions in the Air, Accompanies with Whirlwinds, Gusts of Hail and Rain. Which Happened on the Tenth of this Instant June, at a Place near Wetherby, in the County of York. With the Account, how the Top of a Strong Oak, Containing One Load of Wood, was Taken Off by a Sheet of Fire, Wrapped in a Whirlwind, and Carryed through the Air, Half a Mile Distant from the Place. As also, how It Broke Down Several Trees in Esq; Belbye's Wood and Orchard, Shattered His House, and did Much Harm. The Truth of which, is Attested by Persons, whose Names are Herein Specified. As Likewise, Another Strange Relation of a Monstrous Child, with Two Heads, Four Arms, Four Legs, and All Things thereunto Belonging: Born at a Village, Called Ill-Brewers, in the County of Sommerset, on the Nineteenth of May Last. With Several Other Circumstances, and Curious Observations to the Wonder of All that have Beheld It. Attested and Confirmed by Several Persons of Known Worth & Integrity.* [London: 1680].
- . *Strange and Wonderful News from Holbitch in Lincoln-Shire. Being a True Relation of Two Monstrous Fishes, Viz. a Sea-Horse, and a Sea-Mare, of a Vast and Terrible Bulk and Bigness, Each of Them being Eighteen Foot Long, & Twelve Foot about the Bodys, Lately Cast on Shore, to Admiration of All the Spectators Thereabouts. Licensed, November the 15. 1693.* London: 1693.
- . *The Strange Monster or, True News from Nottingham-shire of a Strange Monster Born at Grasly in Nottingham-shire, Three Miles from Nottingham, with a Relation of His Strange and Wonderful Shape, the Time His Mother was in Travail with Him, with Several Other Things of Note. Together with a Brief Relation of Several Monstrous and Prodigious Births which Happened heretofore in This Our Nation. Licensed Accordoring [sic] to Order.* [London]: 1668.
- . *Strange Newes from Scotland, or, a Strange Relation of a Terrible and Prodigious Monster, Borne to the Amazement of All Those that were Spectators, in the Kingdome of Scotland, in a Village neere Edenborough, Call'd Hadensworth, Septem. 14. 1647. and the Words the Said Monster Spake at Its Birth.* London: 1647.

- . *Strange Newes of a Prodigious Monster, Borne in the Towneship of Adlington in the Parish of Standish in the Countie of Lancaster, the 17. Day of Aprill Last, 1613. Testified by the Reuerend Diuine Mr. W. Leigh, Bachelor of Diuinitie, and Preacher of Gods Word at Standish Aforesaid.* [London]: 1613.
- . *Strange Nevves out of Kent, of a Monstrous and Misshapen Child, Borne in Olde Sandwich, vpon the 10. of Iulie, Last, the Like (for Strangenes) hath Neuer beene Seene.* London: 1609.
- . *Strange News from Gravesend and Greenwich. Being an Exact and Full Relation of Two Miraculous and Monstrous Fishes, First Discovered in Rainham Creek, and afterwards Pursued by Fishermen Up the River of Thames, who with Harping Irons and Fish-Spears Kill'd the Biggest of Them at Gravesend, which after Thousands of People had View'd It, They Hew'd in Pieces and Boyl'd in Cauldrons for the Oyl. The Other was Taken and Kill'd at Greenwich, which being Measured, was Found to be One and Twenty Foot in Length, and Sixteen Foot Over. And likewise a Less than Either of These which was in Company with Them, which Made His Escape from the Fishermen, and Got Away to Sea Again. This Relation being Attested by many Thousands of Eye-Witnesses, which have Seen Them Both.* [London: 1680?].
- . *Strange Signes Seene in the Aire, Strange Monsters Behelde on the Land, and Wonderfull Prodigies Both by Land and Sea, ouer, in, and about the Citie of Rosenberge in High Germany the Nineteenth of Ianuarie Last Past.* London: 1594.
- . *The Suffolk Wonder: or, the Pleasant, Facetious, and Merry Dwarf of Bottesdale.* [Ipswich?: 1755].
- . *A Supplement to the Onania, or the Heinous Sin of Self-Pollution, and All Its Frightful Consequences, in the Two Sexes, Consider'd, &c. (Printed on the Same Letter and Paper, to be Bound Up with Either the 7th, 8th, 9th, or 10th Editions of that Book). Containing Many Remarkable, and Indeed Surprizing Instances of the Health being Impair'd, and Genitals Spoil'd, by that Filthy Commerce with Ones Self, which is Daily Practised, as well by Adults as Youth, Women as Men, Married as Single, as Their Letters Inserted Manifest. Also a Curious Piece, (as Promis'd) Translated out of the Latin, from L. Sckmeider, as it is Inserted in the Acta Lipsiensia, Concerning the Return of the Seed into the Mass of Blood, Well Worth the Perusal of Physicians, Surgeons, Anatomists, and All Others of Art and Curiosity. And which with an Answer to a Late Scurrilous Libel, Call'd Onania Examin'd and Detected, Clearing up the Charges against the Onania, and those Especially Relating to the Ladies, as Several Letters from them Shew, Compleats All what the Author has to Say on this Subject.* London: [1725?].

- . *This Horrible Monster is Cast of a Sowe in Eestlande in Pruse Two Myle from Kunyngbergh in a Vyllage which is Called Lebe[n]hayn whiche Monster hathe had a Great Wyde Mouth / with Two Eyen / Foure Eares / No Stomacke or Guttes / & Two Hertes / VIII. Fete / and the Body was Growe[n] Togyther from the Nauyll vp to the Hede / & with thys Foresayde Monster were Broughte Forth .V. Yonge Pygges Alyue / and These Two Fygyres be Cou[n]terfeyted after the Facyon of the Sayd Monster Both Before and Behynde. The Yere of Our Lorde .M.CCCCC.&XXXI. [Nuremberg and London]: 1531. British Library. General Reference Collection C.18.e.2.(119).*
- . *This Horrible Monster is Cast of a Sowe in Eestlande in Pruse Two Myle from Kunyngbergh in a Vyllage which is Called Lebe[n]hayn whiche Monster hathe had a Great Wyde Mouth / with Two Eyen / Foure Eares / No Stomacke or Guttes / & Two Hertes / VIII. Fete / and the Body was Growe[n] Togyther from the Nauyll vp to the Hede / & with thys Foresayde Monster were Broughte Forth .V. Yonge Pygges Alyue / and These Two Fygyres be Cou[n]terfeyted after the Facyon of the Sayd Monster Both Before and Behynde. The Yere of Our Lorde .M.CCCCC.&XXXI. [Nuremberg and London]: 1531. British Museum. 1928,0310.96.*
- . *Thou Shalte Understande (Chrysten Reader) that the Thyrde Daye of August Anno .M.CCCCC.LII, in Myddleton Stonye ... the Good Wyfe was Deliuered of Thys Double Chylde, Begotten of Her Late Husbande John Kenner. London: 1552.*
- . *Three Surprising Monsters, Being the Wonderful Works of the Divine Judgment on a Wicked Proud Young Woman, who for Her Game and Despising of Others was made Herself and Example of, for Instead of Three Children at One Birth, She had Three of the Most Horrid Objects that Ever Mortal Eye Beheld; and Such that the Oldest Person Livign Never Before Saw the Like. [London?: 1780?].*
- . *To the Nobility, Gentry, and the Curious for Inspecting Most Extraordinary Human Beings, of the Wild Species Born. Just Arrived from Abroad, and to be Seen at Mr. Becket's, Trunk Maker, No. 31, Hay-Market, from Ten O'Clock in the Morning, till Nine in the Evening, Three Wonderful Phoenomena, Wild Born, of the Human Species: These are Two Females and a Male, of a Very Small Stature, being Little Less or More than Four Feet High. [London: 1787].*
- . *The True and Most Miraculous Narrative, of a Child Born with Two Tongues, at the Lower End of East-Smithfeild, in the Suburbs of London, &c. who Three Dayes after His Birth, was Heard Plainly, and Expresly to Cry Out, A King, A King, A King, which it hath Ever Since Continued, to the Admiration of All that Hear It. As also Its being Sent For by Divers Personages of the Greatest Dignity, and Many Honorable Ladies in the Cities of London and Westminster, who Not*

Contented to Behold, and but One Time to Hear It, have Sent Their Coaches for It Again and Again. Together with the Many Various Interpretations and Constructions that Every Where are Made of It. [London]: 1659.

- . *A True Description of the Young Lady Born with a Pig's Face Now Living in London; as Communicated by a Medical Gentleman, who Constantly Attends Her.* [London: 1815].
- . *A True and Perfect Account of the Miraculous Sea-Monster. Or, Wonderful Fish Lately Take in Ireland: Bigger than an Ox, yet without Legs, Bones, Fins, or Scales; with Two Heads, and Ten Horns of 10 or 11 Foot Long, on Eight of which Horns there Grew Knobs about the Bigness of a Cloak-Button, in Shape like Crowns or Coronets, to the Number of 100 on Each Horn, which were All to Open, and had Rows of Teeth within Them: and in All Other Parts Wonderful and Unparallel'd. Together with the Manner how It First Appeared and was Taken at a Place Called Dingel Ichough in the West of Ireland, and since Brought to Dublin, to be Shown Publicly: and All Other Material Circumstances Relating thereunto. Faithfully Communicated by an Eye Witness.* [London?]: 1674.
- . *A True and Perfect Description of the Strange and Wonderful Elephant Sent from the East-Indies. And Brought to London on Tuesday the Third of August, 1675. With a Discourse of the Nature and Qualities of Elephants in General. With Allowance.* [London?]: 1675.
- . *A True and Perfect Description of the Strange and Wonderful She-Elephant, Sent from the Indies, which Arrived at London, August 1. 1683. With the True Portraiture of that Wonder of Nature.* London: 1683.
- . *A True and Perfect Relation of a Monstrous and Prodigious Whale Lately Cast on Shore at Rings-End near Dublin in Ireland: with the Manner of Its Taking, also, an Account of what Damages Happened to Several Ships in those Parts by a Great Storm. Sent Over in Letters from Dublin, to Several Merchants and Others in London. With Allowance.* London: 1679.
- . *The True Discription of Two Monsterous Chyldren Borne at Herne in Kent. The .XXVII. Daie of Auguste in the Yere Our of [sic] Lorde. M.CCCCC.LXV. They were Booth Women Chyldren and were Chrystened, and Lyued Halfe a Daye. The One Departed afore the Other Almoste an Howre.* London: [1565].
- . *The True Picture of a Female Monster Born near Salisbury.* London: 1664.
Reprinted in *The Pack of Autolycus or Strange and Terrible News ...*, edited by Hyder Edward Rollins, 139-45. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927.
Reissued 1969.

- . *The True Portraiture of a Prodigious Monster, Taken in the Mountains of Zardana; the Following Description whereof was Sent to Madrid, Octob. 20. 1654. and from Thence to Don Olonz de Cardines, Ambassador for the King of Spain, Now Resident at London. Its Stature was Lik that of a Strong Well Set Man, with 7 Head, the Chief of Them Looking Forward, with One Eye in Its Sion; the Other Heads have Each Two Eyes in Their Natural Situation, the Ears of an Ass; with Its Principal Head It Eates, Drinks, and Cryes with an Extraordinary and Terrible Voyce; the Other Heads are Also Moved To and Fro: It hath Seven Arms and Hands of a Man, Very Strong in Each of them: from the Middle Downward It is Like a Satyr, with Goats Feet, and Cloven; It hath No Distinction of Sex. To the Tune of, Summer Time. London: 1655.*

- . *The Trve Portritvre of a Prodigiovs Monster. Taken in the Mountaines of Zardana. The Following Discription whereof was Sent to Madrid. Octob: 20th: 1654 from Thence to Don: Olonzo de Cardines. Embassidor for the King of Spaine. Now Risident at London. [London?: 1655].*

- . *A True Relation from Rome, of a Bloody and Cruel Monster, that for Many Years hath Destroyed an Infinite Number of Men, Women and Children, Devoured the Growth of that Country, and Reduced Other Nations to Want: vvith a Description of Its Prodigious Shape, Terrifying Aspect and Fox-Like Craftiness; the Like Never Yest Seen in Any Other Part of the VWorld. [London: 1688].*

- . *A True Relation of a Monstrons [sic] Female-Child, with Two Heads, Four Eyes, Four Ears, Two Noses, Two Mouths, and Four Arms, Four Legs, and All Things Else Proportionably, Fixed to One Body. Born about the 19 of May Last, at a Village Called Ill-Brewers near Taunton Dean in Somerset-shire. Likewise a True and Perfect Account of Its Form so Prodigiously Strange, with Several Remarkable Passages Observed from It since Its Birth, so Great and Amazing, that the Like has not been Known in Many Ages: with Many Other Circumstances. As it was Faithfully Communicated in a Letter, by a Person of Worth, Living in Taunton-Dean, to a Gentleman Here in London, and Attested by Many Hundreds of No Mean Rank; and Well Koown [sic] to Several Gentlemen in and about London. London: [1680].*

- . *A True Relation of a Monstrous Female-Child, with Two Heads, Fower Eyes, Fower Ears, Two Noses, Two Mouthes, and Fower Arms, Fower Legs, and All Things Proportionably, Fixed to One Body. Born about the Sixth of May Last, at a Village Called Ill-Brewers near Taunton Dean in Somerset-shire. Likewise a True and Perfect Account of Its Form so Prodigiously Strange, with Several Remarkable Passages Observed from It since Its Birth, so Great and Amazing, that the Like has not been Known in Many Ages: with Many Other Circumstances. As it was Faithfully Communicated in a Letter, by a Person of Worth, Living in Taunton-Dean, to a Gentleman Here in London, and Attested by Many Hundreds*

of No Mean Rank; and Well Known to Several Gentlemen in and about London.
London: 1680.

- . *A True Relation of the Birth of Three Monsters in the City of Namen in Flanders: as Also Gods Iudgement vpon an Vnnaturall Sister of the Poore Womans, Mother of These Obortiuie Children, whose House was Consumed with Fire from Heauen, and Her Selfe Swallowed into the Earth. All which Hapned the 16. Of December Last. 1608.* London: 1609.
- . *A True Relation of Two Prodigious Births, the Like Not Hapning in Many Generations, the Signification whereof is Left to the Judicious to Contemplate.* London: 1680.
- . *A Trve Report and Exact Description of a Mighty Sea-Monster, or Whale, Cast vpon Langar-Shore ouer against Harwich in Essex, this Present Moneth of Februarie 1617. With a Briefe Touch of Some Other Strange Precedent and Present Occurents.* London: 1617.
- . *The True Reporte of the Forme and Shape of a Monstrous Childe, Borne at Muche Horkesleye, a Village Three Myles from Colchester, in the Countye of Essex, the .XXI. Daye of Apryll in this Yeare. 1562. O, Prayse ye God and Blesse His Name His Mightye Hande hath Wrought the Same.* London: 1562.
- . *Two Most Remarkable and True Histories, which Hapned This Present Yeare, 1619. The One Relating how God Most Miraculously Restored to Health Elizabeth Goossens Taets, Dwelling in the Long Street neere St. Georges Church in Amers-ford by Vtrecht in the Low-Countries, the 29. of August Last, after Fiue and Twenty Yeares Freat Inabilitie and Weaknesse of Body. The Other Shewing how a Maruellous Deformed Monster was Found in the Belly of a Cow which was Killed by Iohn Vandel Malt-Man of Amers-ford aforesaid, the First Day of October Last. 1619. Both which may Serue to Inuite Vs to Serious Repentance and Vnfained Amendment of Life, in this Wicked and Decaying Age.* London: 1620.
- . *The Vanity of Female Pride: Being a True Relation of a Sow that Pig'd Seven Monstrous Pigs, at Highworth in Wiltshire, on Tuesday the Ninth of June 1691. All with Top-Knots, One with Having the Face of a Woman, Four Ears, Four Tails and Eight Legs; the Other Six Being Shaped Much after the Same Monstrous Manner.* London: 1691.
- . *Le Vray Purtraict dun ver Monstrueux qui a Esté Trouué dans de Cœur d'un Cheual qui Est Mort en la Ville de Londres le 17. de Mars. 1586.* London: 1586.

- . *The Welch-Mans Complements: or, the True Manner how Shinkin Woed His Sweet-Heart Maudlin after His Return from Kenton Battaille. Also Fair Maudlins Reply and Answer to All Shinkins Welch Complements, Full of Merry Wit and Pleasant Mirth.* London: 1643.
- . *The Wonder of Nature: or Europe's Miracle Being a Strange Account of One Hen. T'Kent a Little Boy of Seven Years of Age, at Mr. Powel's Coffee-House near the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, who hath Legible White Letters Round the Ball of His Right Eye ... To which is Added His Birth and Parentage.* London: 1701. Reprinted Boston: 1702.
- . *The Wonder of this Present Age. Or, an Account of a Monster Born in the Liberty of Westminster, on the 16th. of This Instant September, 1687. Having Two Heads, Four Arms and Hands; as Likewise Four Leggs and Feet, yet but One Body from the Lower Parts to the Breast, They Seem to Embrace One Another, and Lye Face to Face, as if They would Salute, to the Wonder and Admiration of All Spectators. Tune of Young Mans Legacy. This may be Printed, R. P.* London: [1687].
- . *The Wonder of Wonders: or, a True and Perfect Narrative of a Woman near Guildford in Surrey, who was Delivered Lately of Seventeen Rabbets, and Three Legs of a Tabby Cat, &c. In a Letter from a Gentleman at Guildford, to His Friend a Physician in Ipswich, Suffolk. With Remarks upon the Same by Way of Answer. To which is Added, an Abstract of a Letter from Mr. Howard, who was the Man-Midwife that Deliver'd Her.* Ipswich: 1726.
- . *A Wonder Woorth the Reading, or a True and Faithfull Relation of a Woman, Now Dwelling in Kentstreet, who, vpon Thursday, being the 21 of August Last, was Deliuered of a Prodigious and Monstrous Child, in the Presence of Diuers Honest, and Religious Women to Their Wonderfull Feare and Astonishment.* London: 1617.
- . *The Wonderfull Child. At the Sun Coffee House in Salisbury Court overagainst St. Brides Church, near Fleet Street; All Gentlemen and Others that are Curious in the Products of Nature, may There Satisfie Their Curiosity, in the Sight of a Strange & Wonderful Living Child, about 6 Months Old, Born in Bedford Shire, this having 3 Perfect Cocks, and Uses Them All at One Time in Making Water; this Child has been Seen by Several Persons of Quality who Declare by Miracle of Nature, it Exceeds All Monsters They Ever Heard of in the World, for All Monsters, whatever Parts are Additional, are Generally Less than the Proper Part; in this Child there are 2 Additional Cocks which are of Proportion to the Third, which Makes the Thing of Greater Admiration. Women may See it Privately at the Same Price if They Please.* [London?: 1720?].

- . *A Wonderful Relation of a Hellish Monster Brought Forth by Mary Boss the 12 of May which Struck Her Almost Dead, after It was Newly Born.* Edinburgh: 1709.
- . *Wonders from the Deep or a True and Exact Account and Description of the Monstrous Whale, Lately Taken near Colechester, being Two and Forty Foot in Length, and of Bigness Proportionable. With the Manner of Its Coming, and being Kill'd on Thursday the 9th. of April. Being as Rare and Strange a Sight that Multitudes of People from All Parts Dayly Go to See It as Thick as to a Market or Fair.* London: 1677.
- . *The Worlds Wonder! Or, the Prophetical Fish. Being a Full Description of this Monster, Its Length & Breadth, with Predictions on It. As It was Taken by Fishermen in the Port of Cucanga, neer the Province and Kingdom of China, in the Year 1664. and Sent to the Emperour of Germany, and from thence Convey'd to His Royal Majesty, the King of Great Brittain, &c. To the Tune of, When Stormy Winds do Blow.* London: [1666].
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- . "Observationes duae Anatomico-Practicae, Una de Infante Nato Cum Sacco Aqua Pleno, ab Osse Sacro Usque ad Talos Propendente; Altera de Hydrocephalo Singulari. Auctore Job. Bastero, M. D. R. S. S." *Philosophical Transactions* 42 (1742-3): 277-80.
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